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## ABSTRACT

The two purposes of this literature review are to provide the Research Triangle Institute staff a thorough grounding in the migrant education literature, and to furnish theoretical and/or empirical bases for the meaning and refinement of variables and parameters for a study design development. Examined analytically are the characteristics of migrant culture and migrant children in order to identify and define their educational and social needs. Facts emerging from the classification and processing of materials are: the information is diverse and primarily descriptive, publishing dates are mostly between 1970 and 1972, very few studies are based on objective research, and few studies deal with migrants from specific ethnic groups. However, this review does provide a profile of migrant life and a summary of educational programs that have been described to date. Reviewed in depth are the following categories: background characteristics of migrant culture, characteristics of migrant children as related to educational programs and achievement levels, general descriptions of education and noneducation migrant programs, characteristics of Elementary Secondary Education Act (ESEA) Title I migrant programs, and evaluations of the Migrant Student Record Transfer System (MSRTS). Further studies are recommended. (AN)

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CENTER FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND EVALUATION

RTI Project No. 22U-1235

30 September 1976

MIGRANT CULTURE, EDUCATION, AND PROGRAMS: A REVIEW  
OF THE LITERATURE RELATED TO THE STUDY OF THE ESEA  
TITLE I MIGRANT PROGRAM

By

Maurice D. Fisher

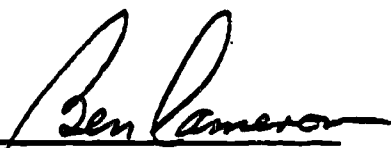
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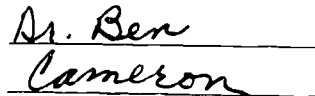
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Submitted by

CENTER FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND EVALUATION  
RESEARCH TRIANGLE INSTITUTE

to

OFFICE OF PLANNING, BUDGETING, AND EVALUATION  
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Migrant Culture, Education and Programs: A Review of the  
Literature Related to the Study of the  
ESEA Title I Migrant Program

INTRODUCTION

1. Background

This report on a review of the literature pertinent to the education of migrant children is submitted by Research Triangle Institute (RTI) as the product of Preliminary Task 3 in fulfilling the requirements of its contract (No. 300-76-0095) with the United States Office of Education, Office of Planning, Budgeting, and Evaluation, for a Study of the ESEA Title I Migrant Program. Task 3 is defined in the Request for Proposal (USOE RFP 76-1), and in RTI's Technical Proposal No. 22-76-01. The nature of the review is more precisely defined by an outline submitted by RTI on 18 March 1976; this outline, which is followed closely in this report, is included as Appendix C.

The review of the literature reported here has two specific purposes related to the Study of the ESEA Title I Migrant Program. First, it is to provide a systematic examination and summary of relevant work performed by others, particularly as such work is related to one or more of the several tasks involved in the design of a study of the impact of the ESEA Title I Migrant program. Second, it furnishes an opportunity and a vehicle for staff who will be involved in other phases of the design study to become familiar with other works and other workers in the area, and with both their findings and their opinions and feelings. Inputs from the literature review to specific tasks designated in the Request for Proposal are given in Section B below. In fulfilling both of these purposes, an annotated bibliography has been produced that will be useful to the staff throughout this study; it is hoped this report will similarly be useful to other workers in the area.

2. Scope of the Review

This review of the literature takes an analytic approach to an examination of the characteristics of migrant culture and migrant children in order to identify and define their educational and social

needs. The review also describes attempts to meet these needs through different types of noneducation and education programs, and focuses upon the characteristics of the ESEA Title I migrant education program. Efforts to evaluate the effects of this program, and some of the major problems in conducting such an evaluation are examined in detail. In addition, studies that evaluate the validity of the MSRTS are examined.

This review concentrates on migrants and migrant education; the extensive literature related to compensatory education in general, as well as to other factors associated with evaluations of compensatory education programs, such as legislation and regulations dealing with privacy and confidentiality, are not included here; such literature will be referred to as is needed during the course of the study.

In performing Preliminary Task 3, RTI reviewed identifiable literature on migrant children and on education programs designed for them. Such a review has as a principal objective the provision of information needed to design an impact study; specifically included is information on both student and program characteristics (Tasks A.1 and A.2). This review also identifies policy-relevant variables (in Chapter IV) needed to develop the research design (Task A.4), construct questionnaires (Task A.8), and design a sampling plan (Task A.5). In order to accomplish this objective, the following resources were used by the RTI staff:

- (1) Materials received from the Migrant Program Branch in USOE
- (2) ERIC system documents (a computer search of this system was conducted using the following descriptors: migrants, migrant children, migrant youth, migrant problem, migrant education, and migrant child education)
- (3) ERIC Center in Rural Education at New Mexico State University (telephone calls were made to this center to inquire about recent ERIC documents in migrant education)
- (4) Dissertation Abstracts, Psychological Abstracts, and Social Science Citation Index (Computer searches were also made of these materials using the descriptors listed in 2 above.)
- (5) Education Index
- (6) Research in Education

- (7) Libraries at Duke University, the University of North Carolina, and North Carolina State University
- (8) Library at Research Triangle Institute, and the Inter-Library Loan System

Visits were made to the following institutions or agencies for the purposes of examining material and conferring with experts in the area of migrant education. The following places were visited in 1976 by members of the RTI staff who were involved in the literature review:

- (1) The Migrant Education Center in Geneseo, New York
- (2) Chicano Study Center at the University of California in Los Angeles
- (3) Center for Teaching English as a Second Language (TESOL) at the University of Southern California
- (4) The Migrant Education Section of the North Carolina Department of Public Education
- (5) The Migrant Program Branch and the Office of Planning, Budgeting, and Evaluation in the U. S. Office of Education
- (6) The Office of Special Concerns, Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, DHEW

#### C. Methodology

The field of migrant education is, in a sense, in its infancy. Interest in the area has had a specific focus for only ten years, since PL 89-10 was amended by PL 89-750 in 1966. The material that had been published prior to the passage of ESEA Title I and the migrant amendment was scant; the material that has been published subsequently has been both voluminous and diverse.

One of the serious and time-consuming problems encountered by the reviewers was the identification and classification of relevant materials. A great deal of material was acquired as a result of the literature search conducted by staff members of the Research Triangle Institute, and another mass of material was submitted for review by the Office of Education.



All of the materials and data reviewed were classified into seven general categories;

1. Information related to legal documents, hearings, policy statements, guidelines, etc.
2. Prescriptive and descriptive materials in the forms of grant applications, annual State reports, proceedings of conferences, workshops, and the like.
3. Public relations and recruitment materials published by LEAs and SEAs.
4. Descriptive and statistical reports dealing with demographic data about agricultural migrants.
5. Evaluation reports of migrant education programs.
6. Research studies in a very few selected areas dealing with migrants or instruction.
7. Subjective, descriptive materials, such as field surveys and case studies dealing with the migrant lifestyle and attendant problems.

As the materials were processed, certain facts emerged:

1. The information was exceedingly diverse, and had not been organized in any way.
2. The bulk of the materials reviewed, aside from the project proposals, State reports and public relations material, were published between 1970 and 1972.
3. The material dealing specifically with migrants' lifestyles, their children's education, etc., was primarily descriptive. The few comprehensive studies were conducted between the early 1960's and 1970.
4. There was a very limited number of studies available that had been based on or had utilized data obtained from objective research.

#### D. Important Sources Identified for the Review

One of the first tasks the reviewers undertook was to fill the information gap which existed at both ends of the early 1970s. Emphasis was given to the period from 1970-1976 because there are a few overviews and evaluations (such as Children at the Crossroads, 1970; Wednesday's Children,

1971) that give a summary of significant factors involved in migrant education prior to 1970, and which provide relevant suggestions for migrant education.

The existence of an excellent monograph by James Schnur (1970), which provided a comprehensive review of the literature between the years of 1960-1969, enabled the reviewers to concentrate on more recent information, that which was more relevant to educational programs, and central to the purpose of this entire study. The Schnur monograph provided background for the material reviewed in this report. In most instances Schnur's review was cited, unless there were specific reasons to delve further into the original data, or unless there seemed to be contradictions between his cited primary sources and other sources.

Virtually all sources cited in this literature review are primary sources, with the exception noted above. The ERIC system provided the reviewers with many reports and studies that would not have been available otherwise. Annotated bibliographies published by ERIC/CRESS, and titles found through four computer searches (of the ERIC File, Psychological Abstracts File, Social Science Citation Index, and Dissertation Abstracts) provided the reviewers with many current sources of information.

One of the initial findings was that there were few studies dealing with migrants and their education which attempted to identify, control, and analyze variables. These more objective studies were to be found in psychological and sociological journals, for the most part.

Several significant studies involving migratory children or migrant education were conducted between 1965 and 1970. Though these appeared in the earliest days of concentrated concern for migrant education, little has appeared in the literature, with a very few exceptions, to alter the conclusions they came to.

The pioneering works by Shirley Greene (1954) and Elizabeth Sutton (1962) provided background information on the education of the migrant child. Robert Coles' three publications (1965, 1970, 1971) proved invaluable in chronocling the lifestyle of migrants and its physical, psychological and social components. The more rigorous, but still descriptive, field

study conducted by the group of researchers based at Cornell University, provided the data for Nelkin's and Friedland's individual and joint publications. These works gave further insight into the life of the migrants, particularly those who lived in migrant camps.

Since the passage of ESEA Title I in 1965 and the amendment of that Act the following year, the nature of the migrant literature has changed somewhat. A substantial proportion now deals with migrant education programs and their anticipated outcomes. There has, however, been only one national evaluation of the Title I migrant education program to date. This evaluation, which was conducted by Exotech Systems (1974), surveyed and described migrant education programs and services in ten States. The authors sought to assess the impact of Title I migrant education programs on selected areas of student achievement. Although a large amount of data and material was presented, the study must be regarded as a preliminary one which identified certain trends and practices in migrant education programs in the States studied. A description and analysis of the Exotech study is included as Appendix D.

The present review of the literature provides a profile of migrant life, and a summary of educational programs that have been described to date. A great deal of information about the life of migrants and their children, and about migrant education, has been assembled in this review. Nonetheless, there are gaps in our knowledge about both of these topics because the existing information is often incomplete, dated, subjective, or speculative. New studies of migrant life and migrant education need to be undertaken because there have been changes in the larger society that may have altered the life styles and practices of migrant workers, and because the impact of ESEA Title I migrant education programs have not yet been assessed.

#### E. A Caveat about Interpreting Studies Included in this Review

Most of the studies reviewed here refer to migrants in general, rather than to migrants from specific ethnic groups. However, there are a few studies which suggest ethnic group differences. The Rural Manpower Center (1968) at Michigan State University compared black, southern white, and Mexican-American migrants in terms of educational levels. Dempsey (1973) explored variations in value orientations among four ethnic subgroups of migrant workers. Other researchers, such as Friedland and Nelkin (1971) and Nelkin

(1970), studied Southern black migrants, and confined their conclusions to this ethnic group.

Since most studies are not specific to identified ethnic or racial groups, it is difficult to determine whether the literature contains valid generalizations about all migrants. These generalizations may be applicable only to Mexican-American migrants, since the largest number of migrants are from this ethnic group, and since most studies seem to refer to this group.

Further research is necessary on the learning and social characteristics of migrants from different ethnic groups in order to identify their similarities and difference. Meanwhile, the absence of specific ethnic or racial reference in most studies cited in this review should be recognized by the reader, and suitable allowance made whenever it is suspected that differences may exist.

## I. BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

### A. Family Structure

The migrant family has been depicted as being a relatively cohesive and supportive unit (Coles, 1965, 1970, 1971; Gutierrez and Lujan, 1973; Sutton, 1962). Much of a migrant's life revolves around the family; contacts with others tend to be limited, superficial, and transient. Reports of migrant life, until very recently, indicated that migrant families tended to do everything together: work, spend their spare time, and travel. When the time came to move and find new employment, jobs were sought for all of the family members, children included (Sutton, 1962; Orr et al., cited in Schnur, 1970).

Data gathered from a number of studies have shown the following characteristics of migrant families:

#### 1. Both parents are usually living with the family

Descriptive studies as well as statistical studies extrapolating from samples (Coles, 1965, 1970, 1971; Sutton, 1972; Consulting Services Corporation, 1971) substantiate this. One study reported that both parents were present in approximately 90% of migrant families surveyed (Consulting Services, 1971). Data gathered from samples of Mexican-American migrants indicated that the percentage of two parent families was even higher (Hawkes et al., 1973).

As part of a thirteen-state study, which dealt with the urban and rural poor and that included migrant agricultural workers, families living in 12 California state-owned migrant camps were studied (Hawkes, et al., 1973). The population of the camps was predominantly Mexican; 69% were born in Mexico and about three-fourths of them still claimed Mexican citizenship. All of the families interviewed had both parents living with the family. Ninety-three percent of the families were nuclear, non-extended families; the remainder had some relatives living with them.

#### 2. The authority structure of the family seems to be dominated by an autocratic father

Although one encounters this view throughout the literature dealing with migrant families, there seems to be some disagreement, either due to

differences between ethnic groups or because of changes which are occurring in migrant life, or both. Sutton (1962), for example, stated that the "head" of the family in white and in Mexican-American migrant households is the father; in black families, the mother is "head" of the family, (p. 30).

Studies of Mexican-American migrant families have almost consistently reported that traditional Mexican values seem to be maintained among most migrants, many of whom are immigrants or children of immigrants. The structure of the Mexican-American migrant family is depicted as consisting of a strong dominant father who makes all of the decisions and a passive mother. Some changes seem to be occurring, however, in the maternal role; researchers have reported that there appears to be less passivity among women and there seem to be some areas in which husbands and wives share in making decisions (Guzman, 1968; Hawkes et al., 1973).

The evidence seems to support the view of a father-dominated family among recent Mexican-American migrants, who still retain the traditional pattern of family structure (Gutierrez and Lujan, 1973; Madsen, 1972).

### 3. Migrant families are large

Large family size, close bonds, and the unusually high dependence on the family for the fulfillment of almost all needs have contributed to the stereotype of the migrant family being an extended family. This does not seem to be supported by the evidence. While relatives will occasionally work, travel, and live together, the pattern of the extended family living together seems to be the exception rather than the rule. The typical familial entity consists of the nuclear family, i.e., parents and their children. Strong kinship feelings exist, but these "relations" are usually elsewhere (Hawkes, et al., 1973).

The average migrant family is thought to be approximately twice as large as the average nonmigrant family (Consulting Services, 1971, p. 15). Estimates of the average size of migrant families vary, and the reported range in number of children is great. Orr (cited by Schnur, 1970) found that in the areas of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas that he surveyed, the average family consisted of six children plus other related adults. Estimated U. S. Census data from 1971 showed there were approximately 7.9 people per migrant family, six of whom were children living at home. (U. S. Census Data cited by Consulting Services, 1971). Hawkes (1973) reported that in the Mexican-American sample he studied, family size ranged from 3

to 13 people, with an average of about five people, four of whom were children. It would appear that the typical migrant family includes five to six children.

#### 4. Ties between family members are strong

All of the studies cited above have reported strong feelings of kinship among family members, and great affection and concern for each other among siblings. The family provides the main source of emotional support for its members who are dependent on it to fill almost all of their needs, be they physical, emotional, or social. Adjustment to the migrant life is thought to be facilitated by the constant interaction of family members and their concern for each other (Coles, 1965).

A 1966 report on a special education project in Naranja, Florida (Naranja, Florida Special Education Project for Migrant Children, cited in Schnur, 1970) noted that "the tight family unit contributes to the good emotional development of migrant children" and that migrant children possessed well-integrated personality make ups (p. 22).

It has been suggested that there might be differences in family composition and structure between migrants of different racial or ethnic groups (e.g., Mexican-American, black, or Anglo) and/or from different parts of the country. There is little information available about the family life of migrants who belong to groups with small representation in the migrant streams, such as Indian or Puerto Rican migrants.

Kleinert (1969) developed a typology of three different migrant subcultures found in Florida: the traveling single male, the black family, and the Texas Mexican-American family. He reported many differences between the three groups and, Kleinert concluded, there were probably substantial variations within each group.

Two major studies of southern black migrant families, discussed below, do not paint a consistent picture and serve to illustrate Kleinert's point.

Coles (1965, 1970, 1971) found the family unit to be very strong and the focus of almost all activity he studied. His in-depth research of a small, selected sample of families in the Eastern migrant stream, that he followed from Florida to New England, yielded a profile of migrant family life similar to that discussed above. He reported that the supportive

family situation provided the children with early independence and strengths that enabled them to function within their immediate environments.

Friedland and Nelkin (1971) and Nelkin (1970), in their more comprehensive study of southern black migrants in 14 migrant camps in New York, reported that distinct differences between the camps and between the migrants themselves had been found. While the structure of the migrant families appeared to be, for the most part, strong and the family integrated, reports submitted by the 15 participant-observers involved in the project specified some variations. For example, there were a number of one-parent families. In some of the one-parent families, temporary liaisons were formed with other migrants, even if the other spouse was only away working elsewhere or in the home state. They reported that marital relations between husband and wife were often peppered with suspicion, mistrust, and concern about adultery.

It is possible that the characteristics and structure of the black migrant family are changing. It seems that fewer blacks are entering the migrant stream. In the past, many of the black migrants were dispossessed sharecroppers who brought their entire families along with them and who retained the strong familial ties characteristic of black rural families. It has been recently noted by people who are involved in the administration of migrant programs that there are many single black male adolescents migrating,\* which indicates both a willingness to let children go off on their own on the part of the parents and a willingness by the young migrant to leave the family behind.

Information available about the family life of Mexican-American migrants presents a profile of what has been described as a "complex multi-functional family unit which coordinates its every talent to making a living" (Gutierrez and Lujan, 1973). The Mexican-American family is bound together by language, culture, and religion, in addition to kinship.

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\* This information is based on personal interviews with the Director of the North Carolina Migrant Education Program and with officials at the Migrant Programs Branch of the U. S. Office of Education.



## 5. Mobility appears to increase family integration

The several studies of migrant family life reviewed in this section on family structure dwell on the closeness of family ties and on the family's supportive role, in spite of the multitude of problems created by the mobility of migrants. These problems revolve primarily around the physical, the psychological, the social, and the educational life of the migrant individual, and are discussed, with specific reference to the migrant child, in Chapter II. Specific information about the impact of mobility on the stability of life is scarce; information is available about the impact of mobility on the quality of family life -- but that is related to factors of poverty, isolation, and lack of education.

One can infer from the writings of Coles, Sutton, Cheyney, and others that the family unit draws closer together because mobility imposes extreme dependence on one another. The family is the one continuing, dependable entity in a life full of unpredictability. Sutton has pointed out that, "Though much in the life of migrant children tends to develop insecurity, they have a source of strength in the strong relationships between themselves and their family and the reinforcing relationships with their ingroup" (pp. 39-40). Coles (1965) came to the same conclusion in his psychiatric study of migrant life. He concluded:

My own investigation finds that in order to adapt to.... unusual facts of environment migrants turn their isolated, mobile life inward, becoming guarded and suspicious toward outsiders but, in compensation for a rootless life, exceptionally close-knit with their young children. They tend to be unusually warm and stimulating with their infants, and rather lax about disciplining them. They so treat them that there appears to be significantly less hostility among the children; in contrast, hostility and suspicion are channeled toward other families as well as the world in general, which is seen as unfriendly and punitive. Families thus become separated from families; even within the migrant culture, so that the price for cohesion within the family is isolation and alienation from others. (p. 30).

Evidence discussed in this report (p. 9) seems to indicate that families may not be traveling together as much as they did in the past (Consulting Services, 1971). One source reported that "distinct indications of major changes in migrant family travel patterns" seem to be occurring. This conclusion was based on samples drawn from four states. It was found that,

among those migrants surveyed, there had been an increase in the percentage of parents who left their children behind with relatives or others while they traveled and there was also an increase in the percentage of parents who took their children with them only during the summer months (Consulting Services, 1971, pp. 13-5). These findings seemed to be corroborated by U. S. Department of Labor data cited by the investigators.\*

There has also been a reported increase in the number of families in which the father and perhaps the older brothers migrate and find work and the mother and younger children remain behind.\* It is premature to determine if these changes actually represent a trend or if they are isolated, temporary occurrences.

Some information has indicated that migrant families are establishing a "home base" with a permanent dwelling for themselves. There is evidence of increased home ownership among migrants (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Special Concerns, 1975; Hawkes, et al, 1973) and some recent programs adopted by agribusiness firms have contributed to ownership of property. These changes are discussed in the next section as well as in Chapter II, section B.2.

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\* These occurrences were occasionally pointed out by migrant education project directors, etc. to Research Triangle Institute site visitors working on this project, and were also noted in an interview with USOE Migrant Programs Branch personnel. These observations were made about Mexican-American migrants, as were the data cited above by Hawks. There seems to be no information available indicating if these newly-emergent patterns apply to other ethnic groups in the migrant stream.

## B. Environmental Factors in the Home

Information pertaining to migrant housing, furnishings in the home, etc., refers almost exclusively to migrants who have no permanent residence in their base States. Although there are indications that migrant families are increasingly acquiring apartments and houses that they return to as "home base" (see Chapter II, Section A.1), little information seemed to be available about these homes, their contents, and the like. Hawkes (1973) interviewed representatives from 169 families residing in a number of California migrant camps and found that 94% of the families had "permanent" homes to which they returned at the end of the harvest season. Some of these residences considered permanent were in migrant camps, but most were not. Of the 94% who reported permanent residences, 55% owned their houses, 43% rented their permanent housing and 2% received free housing.

Information gathered by Hawkes about the nature of the permanent housing showed that, for the most part, it was very modest and, in some cases, substandard. Privacy was minimal. The average number of rooms per family was 3.5, and the average number of rooms per capita was .6. Only 83% said that they had indoor plumbing, 37% of which was only cold water. Availability of sanitary facilities in the home varied: 58% had flush toilets, 66% had either a shower or bath, and 51% had garbage collection service.

Reports written between 1960 and 1971 (Sutton, 1962; Coles, 1965, 1971; U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1970; Nelkin, 1970; Stockburger, 1971; Friedland and Nelkin, 1971) provided a relatively uniform description of temporary migrant housing and the internal condition of the migrants' home. The description given below seems to still be an accurate one of the home environment and living conditions of most migrants when on the road, of those who have no specific residence to return to in their base State, and even of those migrants who return to the same house on a growers' property several years in a row.\*

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\* This conclusion is supported by descriptive data provided in State reports, current magazine and newspaper articles, observations made during site visits in 1976 by Research Triangle Institute personnel as well as discussions with staff members of migrant education programs during these site visits.

When on the road, the migrant's home is temporary and he treats it as such. Migrants make their homes in private or State-owned camps, in cabins, shacks, apartment-like units, farmhouses, and even small homes. Although there are exceptions, these housing facilities are usually substandard, overcrowded, in a state of disrepair, and have inadequate sanitary and sanitation facilities (Sutton, 1962, pp. 16-7; Nelkin, 1970; U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1970).

The crowded conditions of migrant housing provides for little or no privacy. Many family members live in a few rooms which must serve the multiple purposes of cooking, eating, socializing, and sleeping. Needless to say there is no available space where a child can study quietly and comfortably (Stockburger, 1971).

Coles (1965) pointed out the effects of crowded conditions and the lack of privacy. Children are exposed to all of the activities of other family members; it is difficult to "keep secrets" from each other. Every aspect of life is "public". Close physical proximity acquaints the young child with the sexual aspects of life as well as with sickness and death.

The houses of migrant workers are meagerly furnished, consisting only of the necessities such as cots or beds, a table, a refrigerator, a stove and the like. Sometimes the family brings along a television set, but often the family is without one because it is broken, has been repossessed, or even because there is no electricity in the house. In some camps, there is a centrally-located television and jukebox which provide some contact with the media and opportunity for entertainment. Personal possessions rarely decorate the dwelling and little is done to improve its appearance during the family's stay (Sutton, 1962; Coles, 1965, 1971; Friedland and Nelkin, 1971). Coles recounts how he had children draw pictures for him, as a nonverbal technique of assessing their feelings and behaviors, and how the children valued the drawings they made for him and often kept them to take along on their trips.

Cultural items are rarely found in the migrant's home or among his possessions. The absence of printed matter, books, pictures, records, and other tangible products of the culture is discussed in Chapter II of this

report. As is pointed out in that chapter, the lack of material reflecting educational or cultural content is related to low parental education and low income.

A number of sources have reported that migrants do not care for their housing, do not clean or repair the premises and, on the contrary, often damage and destroy the quarters they live in. Nelkin (1970) and Friedland and Nelkin (1971) interpreted the neglect and damage of housing as a means of aggressing against the frustrations inherent in migrant life and the exploitation visited upon migrants by growers, owners of the camps, etc.

Coles (1971) wrote about the migrant's lack of interest in his house, its appointments, and its appearance. He asked one of his migrant acquaintances why he did not give his house the same scrubbing he gave his car; he was told, "We leave them, one after the other" (p. 499).

### C. Socioeconomic Status

Socioeconomic status is assessed by a combination of indicators such as income, education, occupation, housing and furnishings, and the cultural contents of the home. Typically, migrant workers come out low on every one of these indices. Kleinert (1969) described migrants as being the most poorly educated and lowest paid group in the country. Two of the above indicators, housing and contents of the home, have been discussed in the preceding section (pp. 14-16). The two factors that are used as the most significant measures of social class, education and income, are dealt with in this section of the report and in Chapter II.

#### 1. Education

Migrant agricultural workers are unskilled laborers whose work alternatives are extremely limited because of their lack of education and training. Some have grown up in migrant families and have entered into the same cycle of poverty and travel as their parents; some have remained in the migrant stream because they fear the "unknown" rural or urban life; others have come from across the border to work on the land, hoping to improve their lives; still others have come to migrant farm work much later in life as a result of being displaced from rural farms or from industry, usually by mechanization. Employment opportunities and options in the agricultural sector are narrowing, however, and job opportunities for the untrained, the unskilled, and the undereducated in nonagricultural employment are also diminishing.

The typical adult migrant has had only a fourth- or fifth-grade education (Moore and Schufletowski, cited by Schnur, 1970; Taylor, 1973). As with all generalizations about migrants, variations in the level of education have been found among different groups of migrants. A Michigan State University Study, prepared by the Rural Manpower Center and the Department of Sociology (1968), showed a wide discrepancy in educational attainment among the ethnic groups (black, southern white, Mexican-American) they surveyed. The black sample had attained the highest level of literacy, as 28% had completed the tenth grade; 17% of the whites and only 6% of the Mexican-Americans had had a comparable amount of education. Other data also

suggest that nonwhite migrants in the southeastern states have had slightly more years (by one or two years) of education than white migrants (Hooper, cited by Schnur, 1970).

The average age at which each group began migrant work may provide some explanations for this discrepancy in amount of education. Mexican-Americans, on the whole, had begun farm work earlier than members of the other two groups. Thirty-eight percent of the Mexican-American group reported that they were already involved in working the fields by age 14 as compared to 20% of the southern whites and 12% of the blacks. At the other extreme, a higher percentage of southern whites (17%) and blacks (14%) began farm work at age 45 or older than did Mexican-Americans (8%). The researchers thought that the wide range of ages at which agricultural migrancy began implied "that it is an occupation which workers enter as alternative forms of employment became unavailable." The data seem to point to discrimination -- on the bases of race, ethnic/linguistic background, or age -- as yet another factor influencing entrance into migratory agricultural work.

One study has reported that female migrants may receive more education than males. Northcutt and Browning (cited by Schnur, 1970) found that the women in their Florida sample of migrants tended to have had more education than the men.

Parental attitudes towards their child's education appear to be ambivalent. Parents verbalize a desire for their children to continue school and yet expect them to work in the fields or to help at home (Coles, 1965). Their own experience with education has not been particularly successful, on the whole. Many had experienced academic failure, discrimination, blows to their self-concept, and even a form of "culture shock" when they attended school (Coles, 1965). Some have said that there is no relationship between education and their migrant life, and that putting in years in school "just to be a picker" is foolish (Rural Manpower Center, 1968).

Schnur (1970), in his summary of migrant education, pointed out that the prospects for improving the occupational and social opportunities of migrant children were rather bleak because the conditions under which they were raised (poverty, low education, limited parental language skills, lack

of stimuli, etc.) tended to perpetuate the disadvantaged syndrome. He concluded that,

The results of the educational achievement tests... become obvious in terms of adult educational achievement level. The migrant is not being equipped with the basic tools of survival or success to enable him to compete with the mainstream of American society (p. 5).

Coles expressed the fear that, as migrants become displaced from the land, they will swell the ranks of the unemployed in the inner cities of America because they have no skills to sell and the number of unskilled jobs available in our society is constantly dwindling.

The purpose of the ESEA Title I Migrant Education programs is to provide migrant children with increased education and skills so that the pessimistic prognoses put forth above by Schnur and by Coles will not be realized. If such programs prove to be successful, then migrants who desire to leave the agricultural life as well as those who prefer to remain will have improved chances of obtaining employment and will also have greater opportunity to upgrade the quality of their life style.

## 2. Income

Valid information about migrant income is difficult to find. Statistics about migrants are often pooled with other data about agricultural workers. Even when an "average per capita annual income" figure is cited, it often represents the combined income of all members of the family that happened to be working at that time, rather than that of the head of the household alone. Thus, again, there are many variations in the reported figures. But all of them point to an income which is at or below the acknowledged poverty level of \$3,000-\$4,000 a year.

Among the estimates made is that migrant families have a per capita income of \$403, as opposed to a national U. S. average of \$2,620 per person. This estimate was based on U. S. Census data (Consulting Services, 1971, p. 17). Another estimate, based this time on U. S. Department of Agriculture data, was that one-half of migrant workers had family incomes below \$3,000 (Taylor, 1973). A California study reported that among a sample of migrant families surveyed, the median family income was \$3,487. Nearly two-thirds of the migrant sample made less than \$4,000 annually, as



compared to other disadvantaged groups in which only one-third earned under that amount. Given the large size of migrant families, it is obvious that the per capita income is extremely low (Hawkes et al., 1973).

A U. S. Department of Labor publication, citing the U. S. Department of Agriculture's annual statistical report for the year 1971, reported that migrant workers averaged an annual income of \$1,630 for 118 days of farm and nonfarm work. Farm work employed them for an average of 79 days and earned them approximately \$987; the remainder of time employed and money earned was the result of a large variety of activities (Rural Manpower Report, 1972).

#### D. Health and Dietary Influence

Much has been written about the health of migrants. Both statistical surveys and in-depth studies have reported that migrants suffer from poor physical and dental health and that they are prone to specific types of psychological and emotional problems.

With regard to the physical or medical health of migrants and their children, knowledge about prevention, diagnosis, and care all seem to be lacking. Poor health on the part of a child is one of the identified causes of lowered educational performance; for the migrant child it becomes an additional handicap to overcome. One reviewer made this point succinctly:

Another obstacle that lies in the path of a migrant child is his health. Since birth, he is likely to have been underfed and to have suffered from chronically unsanitary conditions. In addition to the infectious diseases to which children in prosperous neighborhoods are becoming increasingly immune, the migrant child has a good chance of contracting ringworm, impetigo, and of being reduced to the listlessness and general debility of malnutrition. Migrant children need doctors and dentists before they can be helped by teachers. (Mattera, 1974, p. 4)

Coles (1965), who is both an M.D. and a practicing psychiatrist, discussed the physical and psychological health of a number of Eastern stream migrant families which he "followed" for several years and which he subsequently profiled. He pointed out that, from the outset, the migrant child is disadvantaged when it comes to health. The mother usually works throughout her pregnancy; she does not receive adequate prenatal nutrition or care and is left, for the most part, to "tend" for herself at the time of delivery.

Few migrant children are born in hospitals due to fear on the part of the mother, lack of money, geographical inaccessibility, and avoidance of hospitals due to past discriminatory encounters with medical and other institutions. Thus, in addition to lacking all of the facilities that make deliveries more safe and pleasant, the migrant child also often lacks a birth certificate. This fact of inadequate care of both mother and child before, during, and after birth, contributes strongly to the high incidence of migrant infant and maternal mortality, birth defects, complications, illnesses, and the like.

Child rearing practices tend to be laissez-faire; migrant children are allowed "free rein as soon as they can crawl." Results of early infant care can be observed later in some personal habits. For example, Coles (1970) reported that young infants are usually left unclothed and undiapered; toilet training is slow and casual. One of the frequently-cited health problems is the lack of sanitary toilet facilities and outhouses in migrant camps. Public facilities are uniformly described as being so unhygienic that most people avoid them (Nelkin, 1970).

Ill health and the accompanying discomfort and pain are cited by migrants as being a dominant concern and an ever-present fact. One study reported that migrants, when asked to identify what was the "saddest thing in life" for them, usually responded "Sickness" (Orr et al., cited in Schnur, 1970).

Coles (1970) reported that, although great concern was expressed over ill health, particularly ill health in children, the concern was accompanied by resignation. In the words of one mother, "They hurts, and I can't stop it." This mother responded by telling her children to "hush up" and not complain, and they obeyed. The children, according to Coles' observation, became increasingly withdrawn, cried less, and became resigned to sickness, fever, and hunger (pp. 12-16). (Coles studied primarily southern black migrant families at a time of rapid social change.)

Scattered throughout the literature are various listings of migrant health problems and data pertaining to them. The most commonly identified problems have been malnutrition and its usual concomitant, protein deficiency. Most ailments and illnesses which migrants are prone to have, such as low resistance to upper respiratory infections, sores which do not heal properly, lethargy (often confused with laziness), and the like, stem from malnourishment (Taylor, 1973; Bove, 1972).

Other data indicate that migrants not only suffer from a wider range of health problems than the average citizen, but that the incidence of these problems is significantly higher. Writers dealing with migrant health often cite comparative information taken from the National Disease and Therapeutic Index to make this point. The Index contains data from a

comparative sampling of patients seen by a private physician and those seen in a migrant health project. The comparisons revealed that infectious and parasitic diseases of the respiratory system and diseases of the digestive system were from 2 to 5 times as numerous among migrants as among the general population. Tuberculosis occurred 17 times as often, venereal diseases 18 times as often, and infestation with worms 35 times as often among migrants as nonmigrants. The mortality rate among migrant mothers was four times that of the national average, and the per capita health expenditure per 1,000 births was twice as much for migrants as for nonmigrants (Bove, 1972; New York State Conference on Migrant Education, 1972).

Taylor (1973) discussed several other causes of migrant ill health that, in his opinion, are far more prevalent than is generally realized. The effect of pesticides on health is a case in point. Crops are frequently dusted or sprayed (sometimes by helicopter) while migrants and their children are working in the fields, and, Taylor contends, poisoning is not infrequent and deaths caused by pesticides have been documented.

Another cause of ill health and disability discussed by Taylor is accidents. Farm labor is the third most hazardous occupation in the United States, although some rank it second, following the construction industry (Solis, 1971). Children are impaired, often permanently, or in such a way as to create future problems of a chronic nature, while working in the fields. Tractor accidents or those involving other mechanical implements are frequently the cause of accidents involving children.

Finally, Taylor pointed out that the type of activity involved in stoop labor can be injurious to a growing child. Changes in the vertebrae of children working in the field have been observed in X-rays of their spines.

Other frequently cited health problems of migrant children include persistent impetigo, severe dental problems, and diarrhea.

The New York State Conference on Migrant Education (1971) identified two serious health problems of adolescents, in addition to those listed above; they were teenage drinking and venereal disease.

Interestingly, the 1971 New York State Conference raised the possibility that migrant children, despite the generally inadequate but improving health care they receive, may be overimmunized. They are often immunized at each location they are in. The health information increasingly available through the Migrant Student Record Transfer System (MSRTS) may be able to determine if this is true and, if verified, help remedy it.

Schnur (1970) cited a number of sources that reported migrant health problems are aggravated by a "tremendous lack of knowledge as to cause-effect health relationships" and that elementary knowledge about sanitation and garbage collection is lacking. The majority of migrants cannot read health-related material, and a high percentage have an additional language handicap in that they are not fluent in English. Seemingly, specially prepared material is needed in the area of health education. Nonetheless, when special material in Spanish was prepared for a group of Florida migrants, they did not like being treated as "foreigners" (Schnur, 1970, p. 23).

The poor health of migrants is not attributable just to lack of funds. It has been linked to other factors such as a mistrust of doctors and clinics, deliberate self-neglect as a psychological mechanism, as well as superstitious beliefs, trust in home remedies, and the presence of "root" men who sometimes provide medicinal care in the migrant camps (Nelkin, 1970).

Available federal sources for the improvement of nutrition and health care are infrequently taken advantage of. The Food Stamp Program, for example, is barely tapped by migrants and only 10% of those who could be eligible for Medicaid used its benefits (New York State Conference on Migrant Education, 1971).

In a comprehensive article dealing with health services for migrant children, Bove (1972) took the position that the school should consistently serve as the center of such services for migrant children, as it is a common denominator in a child's life as he moves around. She singled out the school nurse as being the key individual in a school-based health program that would include a complete physical examination for each child, once a year. Physicians would be available for referrals and diagnosis; aid and support would be provided by the school administrator, the teachers, paraprofessionals, and other agencies in the community.

One of the primary functions of the school nurse would be to up-date the MSRTS form which, in Bove's opinion, is "the most significant health record yet produced for providing national continuity" in trying to meet the health needs of the migrant child (1972, p. 6). A second major function would be to serve as a health liaison between the health services and the parents for purposes of receiving and transmitting health information.

A recent educational needs assessment conducted for the State of Florida by an independent consulting firm (D. A. Lewis Associates, Inc., 1976) dealt with gross motor and fine motor development among migrant and nonmigrant children. Gross motor development is considered to be a good indicator of general health, physical maturation and the quality of the environment to which an individual has been exposed. Generally, migrant students were found to have serious gross motor defects in several areas such as cardiovascular endurance, flexibility, and balance factors. The report noted the close interrelationships between certain gross motor factors, and also noted the fact that the young person's central nervous system is extremely vulnerable to environmental insult. A recommendation was made that "immediate attention should be given to the possibility that nutritional deficits, health problems, and/or ingestion of toxic substances may be causally related to gross motor retardation among migrant students" (Chapter 1-8). Interestingly, some differences in gross motor performance were found between black, Spanish-speaking, and white migrants. Black migrant children tended to score higher on some tests of gross motor performance than did white or Spanish-speaking migrants. In addition, the differences between the black children and the Spanish-speaking children were more pronounced than the differences between white migrants and the other two ethnic groups (pp. 1-15).

Fine motor activity also indicated that nonmigrants outperformed migrants in two of the three factors, although the differences between the groups were not as great as in the gross motor areas. Differences between the ethnic subgroups were noted, Spanish-speaking migrants outperformed both black and white groups on fine motor factors (Lewis, 1976).

## II. CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANT CHILDREN AS RELATED TO EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS AND ACHIEVEMENT LEVELS

Concern for migrant children, the conditions under which they live and work, their education, and their future has been voiced for many decades. Writers and researchers such as McWilliams (1939, 1942), Greene (1954), Sutton (1962), and Stockburger (1967, 1971), to name but a few, were active in trying to inform both the public and elected officials about the conditions and problems associated with agricultural migrancy. These individuals hoped to spur social legislation that would improve the quality of life for agricultural migrants and would improve the socioeconomic prospects of their children.

Aside from stimulating periodic concern and the enactment of some legislation dealing with child farm labor, little occurred to alter the situation described by McWilliams and the others. The official approach to the migrant agricultural population and its multitude of problems reflected a generally laissez-faire attitude with some intermittent concern; the general public's stance was one of neglect and avoidance.

It was not until the 1960's, when two major movements concerned with the inequalities of American society coalesced, that meaningful legislation was enacted that benefitted the children of migrant workers. The dual concerns of allaying or alleviating poverty and its impact, on the one hand, and guaranteeing and enforcing the civil rights of every individual on the other, created many new programs. Some of these were aimed at helping children escape the self-perpetuating cycle of economic deprivation and the social, cultural, and educational disadvantages often associated with a life of poverty. Education, which has generally been accepted as being the vehicle of intergenerational upward mobility (Lipset and Bendix, 1959; Clark, 1962) and which has been aptly called "the gatekeeper of opportunity in this nation" (Sheridan, 1971), was identified as providing the best means for the ends specified above. A multitude of studies as well as statistical and census data confirm that a strong relationship exists between education, occupation and income (See, for example, Halsey, Floud, and Anderson, 1961, and the numerous articles reprinted therein).

Compensatory education programs, designed to "compensate for the educational neglect of the disadvantaged child," were funded by Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (P.L. 89-10). One year later, Congress authorized specific compensatory programs for children of migratory agricultural workers who, because of transiency and related factors, were not covered by the original legislation. The Federal government thus became involved in the education and health needs of migrant children thereby filling the void created by the States and the local areas which did not consider migrant children "residents" and who, as a result, would not assume responsibility for them. Federal funds have since been given to almost all of the States, on an annual basis, for the purpose of establishing educational programs for migrant children and providing them with ancillary services.

The publicity surrounding compensatory education as well as the focus of the programs have been on the urban, ghetto areas. However, many rural children suffer from the same constellation of effects of severe economic and social deprivation as do urban children, and rural children who are migrants suffer from these effects as well as other handicaps. The California Master Plan for Migrant Education (1974) opens with this statement, "We believe that the children of migrant farm workers are the most educationally disadvantaged youngsters in our schools today" (p. 1). Many of the data cited in subsequent sections of this paper support this contention.

The National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children (NACEDC) in its Annual Report to the President and the Congress for 1973 defined the educationally deprived or disadvantaged child. Migrant children were identified as fitting the definition given below. The legal term "educationally deprived" is used in Public Law 89-10, Section 101, to describe the child who has special educational needs and who lives in a low income area. The Council pointed out that another definition is often employed which includes children who are not achieving at grade level. Usually the factors of socioeconomic deprivation, special educational needs, and failure to achieve at grade level accompany each other; these are some of the components and the outcomes of educational deprivation.



The NACEDC report identified the following factors that contributed to a child's classification as educationally disadvantaged: (1) low socioeconomic status, (2) minority membership (often coupled with language handicaps),\* (3) low level of parental education, (4) poor health and inadequate nutrition, and (5) substandard housing conditions.

The 1973 Report of the NACEDC pointed out that migrant children were an educationally disadvantaged group, "out of the mainstream of any stable society," which has "few bases for security" and "little opportunity for intellectual development in the fields, working, or waiting while the mother and father work." "A whole host of supportive services" and total programs were recommended to deal with the learning needs of migrant children. There are many programs and services now functioning to meet the needs of these children, with the goal of bringing them into contact with the mainstream of life around them by upgrading their health care, providing compensatory education, and, hopefully, giving them some alternatives to select from when they are adults.

An understanding of what these programs aim to achieve educationally and an assessment of their success or lack of success can only be accomplished by a comprehensive understanding of the migrant life and its impact on the children who follow the migrant streams, usually with their parents, but as they get older often alone. The discussion presented below deals with the demographically-related characteristics and the psychosocial characteristics of migrant children that appear to be related to the educational programs they are involved in and to their achievements within those programs.

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\* A disproportionate percentage of minority children are disadvantaged.

### A. Demographic Characteristics

Migrant children receive less education than any other group of disadvantaged students. They tend to leave school, just as their parents did, before they have completed an elementary school education. Somewhere around the fifth or sixth grade, enrollment figures begin to drop and, as grade level ascends, the percentage of migrant children continuing in school declines sharply (Taylor, 1973; Tinney, cited in Schnur, 1970). Estimates of the number of years of schooling completed by migrant children vary, but the statistics for almost all studies reviewed herein are consistent in that they indicate that only about 8% to 10% of migrant students entered high school and that, of those who entered, nine-tenths did not graduate (National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children, 1971; U. S. Office of Education, 1975). Thus, while almost 90% of all American students go to high school, 90% of migrant children do not.

One authority has pointed out that the entire migrant subculture has "built-in learning problems" because work takes precedence over everything else in life (Coles, 1965). The importance of work, of children's work, and the need to pursue work wherever it is, creates a transient and unstable pattern of life that has serious ramifications for education. Schnur's review of the literature (1970) summarized the findings from a number of studies which dealt with the problems of educating migrant children, and mobility was identified as a prominent contributing factor. Schnur listed and discussed many of the characteristics and problems found in these sources which were related to the education of migrant students. They have been classified into the seven broad categories given below:

1. Migrant children are highly mobile.
2. Migrant children have poor school attendance.
3. Migrant children are overage for their respective grade levels.
4. Migrant children live in a limited cultural environment.
5. Migrant children exhibit language problems, limitations, and differences.
6. Migrant children are below the norms in academic achievement for their grades.

7. Migrant children drop out of school at an early age.

Each area will be briefly discussed below.

### 1. Mobility

The instability of the migrant life, the unpredictability it entails, and the responses to it have been analyzed at length by Nelkin (1970) and by Friedland and Nelkin (1971). They concluded that migrants respond to the insecurities of their life by developing a perception of the world as an illogical, disordered place in which there is little relationship between cause and effect and over which little control over future events can be exercised. The migrant's mode of adaptation to this situation is a logical one for him in context, but may appear to be illogical to an observer. The adaptive mode may be dysfunctional to adjusting to the outside world, however. Nonetheless, his response to an erratic universe is to be erratic himself, and his response to an uncertain tomorrow is to seize what he can today. This adaptive pattern is transmitted to the young who, in the opinion of Coles (1970, 1971), as well as of the authors cited above, emulate adult attitudes and behavior at a very young age. Much of the uncertainty of migrant life is directly related to mobility which creates a situation in which the migrant does not belong to any community, is rootless, marginal, and "invisible" (Nelkin, 1970).\*

It has been shown that even children from more stable and economically secure environments have experienced educational setbacks and decreases in progress as a result of moving (Day, 1976; Long, 1973). How much greater the impact must be when multiple moves are involved and when mobility is coupled with poverty, differences in language and culture, and minority status.

Mobility brings with it the attendant problems of missing school work, lack of continuity because of the nonuniformity of curricula, as well as social and emotional anxieties brought on by a constant need to readjust to new school environments, teachers, children, and conditions.

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\* The extent to which these generalizations hold true when migrants are at "home base" is not known. See Chapter I, Section B, pp. 14-16).

The multiplicity of adjustment problems and the marginality felt by the migrant child create feelings of isolation, alienation, and fatalism, as well as frustrations and latent hostilities similar to those experienced by their parents (Coles, 1965; Friedland and Nelkin, 1971; Nelkin, 1970).

Because of the overriding need to find employment and to follow the crops, school attendance of migrants tends to be erratic. Most reports and studies have said that migrant children attend at least two schools during the year; some children attend as many as six or eight schools.\* There are periods when they are not enrolled at all, such as when they are on the road, working in the fields, needed for child care, or are making brief stopovers on short-term jobs. It has been estimated that, on the average, migrant children attend three different schools each year (California State Board of Education, 1974).

Two relatively recent studies reported that the students in their samples did not seem to be moving from school to school with the frequency which had been reported in earlier studies (Consulting Services, 1971; Exotech Systems, Inc., 1974). Both studies concluded that changes were occurring in the traditional migrant patterns and attitudes.

Data drawn from a small sample of parents and children in ten states showed that, of the 294 parents who responded, 83% said that their child had attended only two schools in the past year (1972-1973) and only 2% said that their child had attended more than four schools during that year. Interview data from LEA project directors seemed to support this information; a significant number of students, particularly in the base states, seemed to be returning to the same school district for more than two consecutive sessions. Families seemed to be going directly to the receiving state, rather than making several stops on the way, and to be staying there for the entire harvest season; they then returned directly to their base state (Exotech, 1974, pp. II 4-6).

This same study reported that in at least three states included in its sampling, North Carolina, New York, and New Jersey, fewer children were traveling with migrant crews. Fewer young children seemed to be migrating and, in some cases, fathers and older brothers left the rest of the family at home when they went to work the crops. Project personnel attributed

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\* Older studies seem to report a greater number of moves than do the newer studies. One should not, however, jump to the conclusion that this is in fact the case, because it is difficult to track the children and not all moves are reported to school authorities or recorded on the MSRTS.

Chinese changes to two factors: (1) that parents were becoming more responsive to their children's needs and were not interrupting their education, and (2) that crew leaders were not permitting children to travel with them because health and safety standards were less strict without children (Exotech, 1973, pp. II 4-6).

The second study (Consulting Service, 1971, p. 23), a survey conducted in four States (Florida, New Jersey, Texas, and California) that sampled 593 students and 426 parents, found that 51% of the migrant children and 48% of the migrant families in the sample traveled only during the summer months.

Students often travel great distances in their migratory trek. Generally, with the exception of a few States like California, the migratory pattern is thought to be interstate and to follow a few "regularized" streams. Two studies discussed below have gathered data which suggest that the percentages of interstate and intrastate mobility have been over- and underestimated, respectively, and that the traditional migrant "streams" may be developing more branches.

A 1975 study (D. A. Lewis Associates) was conducted in the State of Washington to determine the interstate and intrastate mobility patterns of migrant children. Cumulative statistical data was extracted from the MSRTS Data Bank for the period 1970-74, supplemented by information from the State of Washington, to determine mobility patterns of students entering Washington and leaving Washington, respectively. The data showed that migrants came to Washington from all over the country and left in all directions for many destinations. Migrants came to Washington from 26 States and emigrated to 12 States. Four States, however, accounted for 85% of the immigration of students: Texas for 35% of the students, California for 30%, Oregon for 15%, and Idaho for 5%. The rest came from or went to places as far away as Florida, Pennsylvania, and Maine. It is interesting to note the States they went to with the greatest frequency: Texas, California, Oregon, Arizona, Florida, Minnesota, Idaho, and Montana. It appears that some migrants returned to their base States, while others continued on to other States to follow the crops.

The study gathered information about intrastate mobility (intercounty and intracounty) and found that:

... contrary to popular beliefs concerning the nature of migrant student movement patterns, the number of inter- and intra-county moves within Washington indicate that the intra-state movement pattern is

more significant than the inter-state flow of migrant students. The intra-state moves extracted from the MSRTS were limited to origins and destinations within twelve counties. All the traces represent... (move within Washington during 1974 (D. A. Lewis, 1975(c) pp. 2-23).

Another study of this type was conducted in New Jersey (D. A. Lewis Associates, 1975(b); similar conclusions were reached regarding the wide dispersion of points of origin and destination in interstate migration, and the comparative intensities of interstate vs. intrastate migration.

The patterns of interstate migration, reported for both New Jersey and Washington State, may well indicate a changing trend away from the traditional three migratory streams. The number of States involved, the distances traveled, and the small numbers involved in some of the migration may be the result of the migrants' increased willingness to move away from the stream. It may well be that, as the number of families traveling with crews decreases and the dependence on crew leaders decreases, some families will venture farther away from the traditional routes. Other may opt to remain in a given state longer, moving from site to site rather than cross-country.

However, some of the data and conclusions about changing migratory patterns have been questioned. It is possible that the statistics pertaining to interstate moves may be underestimated for two reasons: (1) the MSRTS does not have a complete record of moves, and (2) many interstate moves are never reported by the new LEA in the other state, but the child is picked up again by the MSRTS when he returns to Washington--as an interstate transfer. A spot comparison of Student Eligibility Forms and MSRTS data by Migrant Programs Branch personnel seemed to indicate that there was some under-estimation of moves.

Officials of the Migrant Programs Branch of the Office of Education also indicated, in conversation, that the average number of schools attended by migrant children is still close to three. This estimate is based on data from the Student Eligibility Form, which requests information about the last school attended. Reliance exclusively on the self-reporting of students, who do not always remember accurately, or on MSRTS data, which are dependent on cooperative school personnel, and/or parents, was insufficient in their view.

A relatively new consideration in the family's decision to migrate in toto or to leave some relative(s) and children behind may be that of home ownership. Although it is not yet known how widespread migrant home ownership actually is or what impact it has had or will have on the migration of children, it has been speculated that some of the data indicating an increase in migration between only two points, those of the base and the receiving states, and migration only during the summer months may reflect the impact of having a permanent residence. The recently-adopted policies by a few large firms, such as Coca-Cola/ Minute Maid, which aid migrants in acquiring permanent housing, often stipulate year-round occupancy. Thus, a grandparent, a relative, or even the mother may leave the migrant stream to remain behind with the younger children.

Changes in the migration pattern do seem to be occurring; how significant these changes will be has yet to be determined. Despite some indications that there is lessened mobility for some migrant children, an increase in the number of children enrolled in ESEA Title I Migrant programs has been reported in some States. It is not yet clear the degree to which this simply reflects the increased number of Spanish-speaking migrants who have more children than other migratory groups, better recruitment procedures, the downward extension of migrant educational programs to include preschoolers, a higher rate of school retention (whether due to special educational programs or not), or recent inclusion of former migrants.

Given the data, the conclusion that mobility is still a way of life for most migrant children, although the frequency of moving may be reduced for some, is inescapable. The effect of mobility on childhood socialization, behavior, and, ultimately, on personality are cited throughout this paper; its impact is all-pervasive and intertwined with every aspect of migrant life.

## 2. School Attendance

Migrant students miss more days of school than nonmigrant children; the estimated number of days migrant children attended school during the regular school year varies by source and by year. Reasons given for poor attendance include:

1. Time lost due to moving
2. Late entry into and early departure from school

3. Working in the fields
4. Babysitting and helping at home
5. Illness
6. Lack of clothing, school fees, or books and supplies

Unfortunately, the crop seasons do not coincide with the school year; many students are on the move when the Fall semester begins and are on the move again before school is out for summer vacation. Stockburger (1971) pointed out that migrant children are in school for two or three, at the most four to five, months of the year. Late entry and early departure is a generally reported pattern. Students enter school any time from October to January and withdraw in the early Spring months.

A 1971 report based on data from student samples in Florida, New Mexico, Texas, and California found that the school attendance of migrant children was about 85% of that of the national average. The data showed that, of the equivalent of 180 days in the school year prescribed by the national accrediting associations and accepted by the States, the average attendance for all enrolled students was 163 days; for migrant elementary students it was 141 days, and for migrant secondary students it was 137

(Consulting Services Corporation, 1971). This finding was better than might have been expected on the basis of past reports and may be related to the purported decrease in children's travel during the regular school year. It should be noted that these statistics were from sample data from three States; and the counties selected for sampling, at least in Florida, have reflected the housing policies of large corporations and growers, which were discussed above.

Another relatively recent study (Exotech, 1974) concluded that migrant school attendance was improving. Questions dealing with attendance were submitted to samples of school principals, parents, and children of undesignated areas. Eighty percent of the 122 principals reported that the absentee rate of migrants was average to low. Three hundred and thirty-nine parents were asked how long their children had been out of school while moving to different locations. Thirty-six percent said that their children had not missed any school, almost 20% said their children had missed almost a week of school, 26% indicated a loss of one to two weeks, 26% said that their children had missed two or more weeks, 14% of whom indicated that four or more weeks had been missed. Students were asked if their parents had ever asked them to



stay home from school. Eighty-one percent of the students in the base states and 81% in the receiving states responded negatively (pp. II 116-117).

Although there may be a trend toward improved school attendance, one should not generalize from these data. Results were probably influenced by the small samples involved, factors that may affect children's self-reporting to strangers, and the knowledge, on the parts of migrant children and parents alike, that school absences for reasons such as child care or work are frowned upon by the authorities. More data need to be gathered to validate this trend.

One source of information about school attendance is the MSRTS. School attendance figures for children being tracked by the system are available at regular intervals. Statistics for the 1974-1975 (9/1/74 to 8/31/75) year, provided by the Migrant Programs Branch of the Office of Education from MSRTS data, indicated that, on the average, migrant students attended school 90% of the time that they were enrolled. These data do not reflect the length of the enrollment period, however. Nor do they take into account unreported data, where a zero percent attendance might indicate either failure of schools to report attendance or of children to attend school.

While these data seem to signal a possible improvement in the school attendance of some children, there is still an undetermined number of migrant students who are not enrolled in school at any given time and others who may never go to school at all.

Taylor (1973) visited migrant camps and noticed that many children were working in the fields instead of attending school. He discussed migrant school enrollment with parents, rural school officials and administrators of State education programs, among them the California Chief of Migrant Programs. That official estimated that 40,000 school-age migrant children in California "were invisible to all government record-keeping programs. They are presumed to be working or babysitting or not going to school for other reasons" (p. 133). Cardenas (1976) cited a 1968 Texas State Evaluation Report that stated that "an estimated 20% of all migrant children in Texas never even enrolled in school at any age." (p. 5).

Taylor (1973) also found variations in school district practices regarding identification and recruitment of migrants and enforcement of compulsory attendance laws and truancy regulations. Some districts discouraged migrants from attending school and a few actually refused to enroll them. Conflicts of interest were also apparent. Some growers encouraged older children, 13 or 14 years old, to work in the field rather than attend school and even resented housing families with teenagers who attended school. A number of instances in which Rural Manpower Service recruiters came into the schools to recruit secondary students for field work (and, thus, to leave school) were also cited by Taylor.

### 3. Age-Grade Level

Age-grade retardation is a reported educational characteristic of migrant children. Again, the estimated number of years migrant children are overage for a given grade level varies according to the students and States sampled. These variations are due in part to differences in local school policies regarding age of school entry, promotion, enforcement of truancy laws, and the like. Migrant children are often enrolled in school at a later age than the average child (Schnur, 1970; Stockburger, 1971). Observers have noted that it was not uncommon to find that a number of children from the same family were enrolled in the same grade (Tinney, cited in Schnur, 1970), a phenomenon which also has been observed in rural school districts.

In 1954, Greene reported that by the fourth grade more than 50% of migrant children were already behind at least one grade in school and that, by the ninth grade, 75% were behind anywhere from two to five years (p. 8). Similar percentages were reported in the literature throughout most of the decade of the 1960's.

A 1971 report (Consulting Services, 1971), based on data from a field study in four states, reported on the grade retardation of 14-year-old and 18-year-old migrants. The 14-year-old group was 1.3 grades behind its non-migrant counterpart; the 18-year-old group was .5 grades (a semester) behind (p. 22). Given the ages of these students, it would appear that the students sampled were the ones who were more "successful" or more "motivated" because they had remained in school (the "survivor effect").

The Exotech Report (1974) also found "overageness" for grade in their student samples, drawn from ten States. On the average, migrant students were from six to eighteen months behind the expected grade level. An illustration of the differential between average grade by age for migrant students from two States, California and Texas, and for the hypothetical norm is given in Figure II-1. The gap in average age-grade levels between migrants and nonmigrants is noted early and increases considerably between the third and fifth grades, after which it seems to remain more or less constant. The differences between States are also apparent in this figure. Migrant Texas students were older than those of California at both the lower and higher grade levels. No explanation was given for these differences (Exotech, 1974, II 25).

Age-grade retardation is intertwined with most of the other factors discussed in this section; i.e., mobility, late school entry, poor attendance, low achievement levels, and nonpromotion.

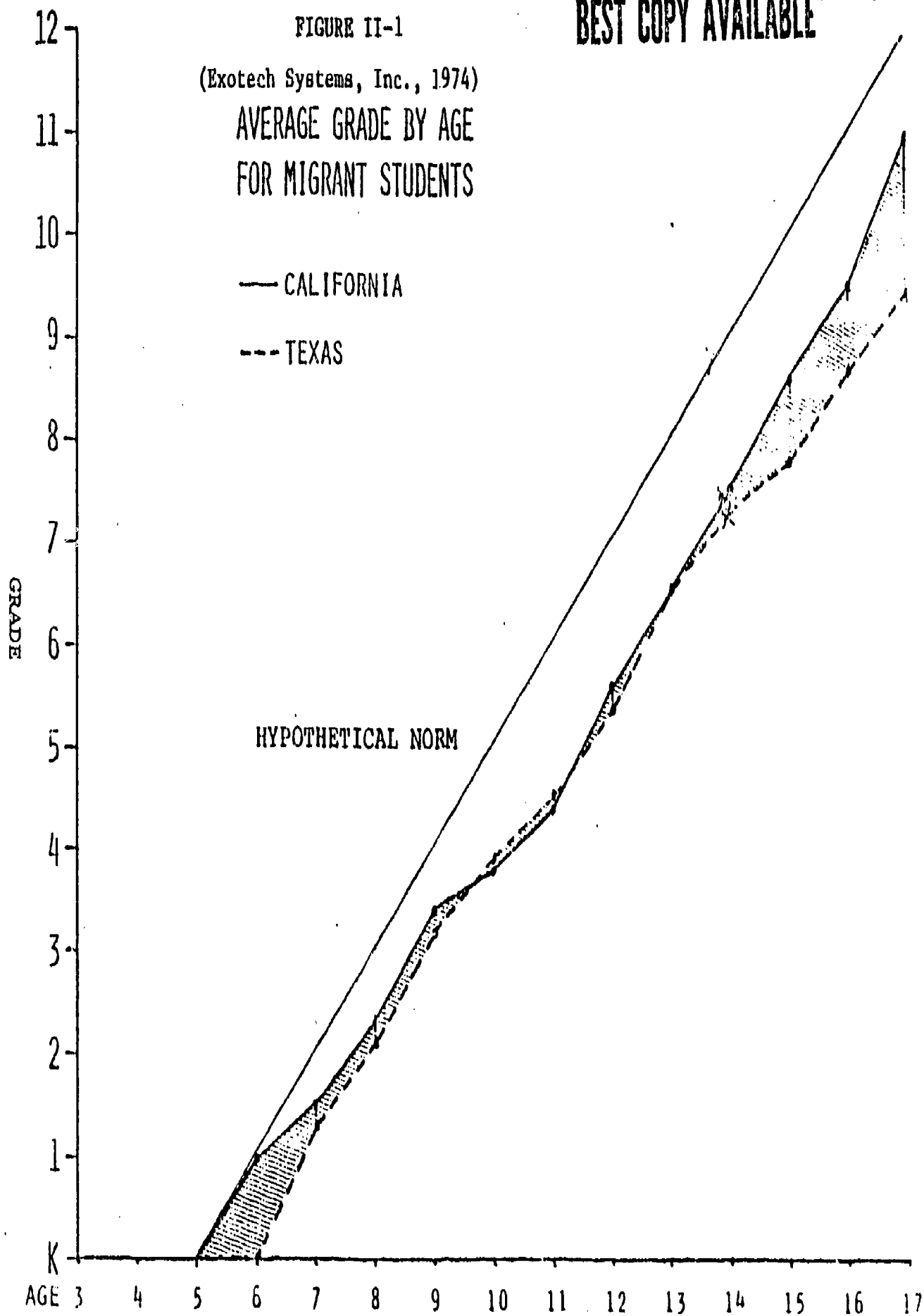
#### 4. Cultural Environment

The conditions under which one lives are of a whole piece. While, theoretically, each construct, component, or factor can be studied or analyzed individually, the nature of that factor can only be understood in the context of the whole or the gestalt and with reference to its interaction with other variables in the environment. Thus, the characteristics of the migrant child, for example, or of his environment, may be discussed more than once, in different contexts and in conjunction with different variables.

This section of the report serves to pull together some of the information and data presented in the preceding discussions, to highlight some of the points previously made about cause and effect in the life of migrant children, and to lead logically into the final portion of this section and into Section IIB, which deals with the psychosocial characteristics of the migrant child.

Migrant children are disadvantaged children. All authorities writing in the field view them as such (Coles, 1965, 1971; Stockburger, 1969, 1971; Strunk, 1972). While one might quibble over the terms of "socially disadvantaged," "culturally disadvantaged," or "educationally disadvantaged,"

(Exotech Systems, Inc., 1974)

AVERAGE GRADE BY AGE  
FOR MIGRANT STUDENTS

SOURCE: PUPIL INTERVIEW GUIDE, FOR THIS STUDY.

the fact remains that a profile of the migrant child as being generally disadvantaged, i.e., one who demonstrates the effects of deprivation in all of these areas, has emerged from the sources utilized in this literature review.

The National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children, 1973, listed five characteristics of disadvantaged children which were delineated earlier in this Chapter (pp. 26-28). To recapitulate, the five were: low socioeconomic status, minority membership (often coupled with language handicaps), low level of parental education, poor health and inadequate nutrition, and substandard housing conditions. Every one of these characteristics applies to the migrant child.

There is an additional factor relevant to the migrant child, which, although it could have an enriching dimension, usually is just an additional factor contributing to the constellation of disadvantages mentioned above. That factor is mobility. Travel, which could broaden the experiential field of the child, is, for the migrant, the way one looks for and gets to the next job. Thus, the migrant child, while seeing a great deal of the United States, understands little of what he sees and does not stop to view a historic site or to appreciate nature. Instead, he travels long distances, almost nonstop, uncomfortable in crowded and old vehicles. On the way to his destination he is often exposed to hardship, discrimination, and even derision (Stockburger, 1971; Sutton, 1962; U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1970). Travel has been frequently cited as being one of the numerous examples of conditions affecting the migrant child that could be "turned around," as it were, and converted into an asset in the enrichment of his life and his education. There are a number of other positive features in migrant life that are potential sources of strength for the migrant child, and that could be capitalized on by educational programs. These are summarized later in this document.

The relationship between degree of education and amount of income has been well documented. The lack of both creates a third condition, a condition of limiting the material and cultural objects and "tools" which can be found in the child's environment and which appear to contribute heavily to the child's intellectual growth. The migrant child, from infancy on, does not have access to such items as toys, utensils, and other possessions which require verbal labeling, which act as referents for language acquisition, and which provide the stimuli for manipulating and problem-solving experiences (Ausubel, 1965).

Sutton (1962) described the limitations imposed by his environment in this way:

The great majority of children...live in one-room frame cabins or in one room of an old farmhouse. Furnishings are meager and often consist only of cots or beds with thin mattresses, a table, a cooking stove or a two-burner oil heater, and sometimes an ice box or refrigerator. One room accommodates all the family's activities, and it is not uncommon for a family unit to have 10 to 15 members, both grandparents, a married son or daughter or both and their children, an aunt, uncle, cousin, or a friend.

Other children have less than the one-room cabin or shelter for a home. They may live in old shacks, metal lean-tos, tattered tents, backs of old trucks, abandoned packing cases, or in the grass or on the ground.

Except in the very best labor camps, homes for the most part are unsanitary. Provisions for garbage disposal are inadequate and frequently nonexistent. Screens are scarce and the shuttered windows, without glass, provide little light. Often, the only toilets available are run-down privies, the ground in back of living quarters, or utility houses, which many families use and which quickly become so filthy that disease is easily transmitted.

Children's personal belongings and keepsakes are stored in a box under a bed or cot. Since there is no space for closets, clothing hangs on a nail. In many homes, shelves have been improvised from orange crates and boxes. Very few homes have a dresser with a mirror. More often a small mirror is hung above a shelf which holds a comb and some toilet articles for the entire family.

Dishes, knives and forks, and cooking utensils are at a minimum. Frequently, a child has never eaten with a fork until he enters school. Some families sit together at a table for a meal, but in many families food is given out and each child eats his portion from a bowl, pan, or plate, or carries the food in his hand.

Lack of cooking equipment, of proper refrigeration, and of time necessary for preparation of food contribute to inadequate diets. (pp. 7-8)

The limitations imposed by poverty, mobility, and minimal education tend to be perpetuated because of fear of the "outside world" on the part of migrant adults as well as their children. As a result, contact is avoided (Kleinert, 1969; Stockburger, 1967, 1971). Many migrants use the camp they live in and their associations within the camp as a "protective shell" to keep the outside world away (Nelkin, 1970). This physical and cultural isolation severely restricts the migrant child's field of perception and experience; the results of economic deprivation deprive the migrant child of both the material and intangible aspects of the culture, those factors which would make him feel he "belongs" to the society.

If there is an absence of material belongings, then it is evident that other objects and equipment directly related to the educational process and to schooling will also be absent from the environment. The above-mentioned NACEDC Report of 1973 pointed out that the level of parental education was clearly associated with the provision of cultural and educational stimuli on a day-to-day basis which is "an important factor in ... children's educational attainments" (pp. 7-8).

Language skills and mental growth are stimulated by the presence of conversation, books, pictures, magazines, and the like. Migrant and other disadvantaged children grow up in homes where there is little auditory stimulation: being read to, listening to records, etc., or being involved in or overhearing conversations are not frequent occurrences. Conversations, for example, are usually confined to the concrete aspects of life (Ausubel, 1969; Stockburger, 1971). Coles (1965) noted the almost total absence of any contact with printed or written matter among the migrants he studied.

Hawkes (1973) found that the migrants he studied resembled those studied by Coles in that they had little contact with the outside world through the printed media. Other types of contact were also limited. For example, only 16% had telephones in their home, and 54% apparently did not even have access to a telephone. Hawkes did report, however, that 78% had a television set or access to one and that most of the migrants in his sample attended church, although not regularly. Television and church constituted their main contacts with the larger society. The latter was the sole source of formal affiliation reported.

Schnur (1970) summarized some of the effects of financial deprivation which handicapped a child educationally. The scarcity of money means that the family and the child have few possessions, as described above. There may not be enough money to provide the child with clothing for school; to buy the requisite school supplies such as pencils, papers, crayons, gym clothes, etc.; to spend on miscellaneous school fees, admission costs to extracurricular activities, or for involvement in or special equipment for extra school programs such as clubs, band, athletics. Not being able to participate in many of these school activities closes off certain educational or educationally-related experiences to the child and further limits his field of experience. It also labels him as "special," an outsider.



How significant are the effects of a limited cultural environment? What impact will it have on the child's future both in school and in life? There is a vast body of research in areas such as perceptual psychology, psychology of personality, and the like which indicates that the impact of cultural deprivation on learning patterns, language acquisition, reading, and reasoning is significant. Ausubel (1967), a well-known expert in the field, has written:

Neither the contribution of the cultural environment to intellectual development nor the modifiability of children's relative intellectual ability as measured by intelligence tests is seriously disputed any longer. Whatever the individual's genetic potentialities are, cognitive development occurs largely in response to a variable range of stimulation requiring incorporation, accommodation, adjustment, and reconciliation. The more variable the environment to which individuals are exposed, the higher is the resulting level of effective stimulation. Characteristic of the culturally deprived environment, however, is a restricted range and a less adequate and systematic ordering of stimulation sequences. The effects of this restricted environment include poor perceptual discrimination skills; inability to use adults as sources of information, correction, and reality testing, and as instruments for satisfying curiosity; an impoverished language-symbolic system; and a paucity of information, concepts, and relational propositions. (p. 156)

The irreversibility of the effects of cultural deprivation caused by imitations in the environment has been argued. The conclusion drawn by Ausubel is that some effects are at least partially irreversible because future rates of intellectual development are dependent on and limited by past development and that developmental deficits tend to increase cumulatively. The child who already has a deficit in growth resulting from deprivation is not as able to profit from new levels of environmental stimulation. "Hence, an individual's prior success or failure in developing his intellectual capacities tend to keep his future rate of growth relatively constant" (p. 158).

Ausubel does recognize that the existence of an "optimal" learning environment could stop and even reverse the degree of retardation.

Such an environment must obviously be adequately stimulating, must be specially geared to the deprived individual's particular level of readiness in each subject-matter area and intellectual skill, as well as to his over-all level of cognitive maturity, and presupposes much



individualized attention and guided remedial effort. This, of course, is a far cry from the kind of learning environment that culturally deprived children typically enjoy. In actual practice their existing intellectual deficit is usually compounded by the fact that not only are they less able than their peers to profit from appropriate new experience, but they also are usually overwhelmed by exposure to learning tasks that exceed by far their prevailing level of cognitive readiness. (p. 159)

Strunk (1972) provided a comprehensive review of the literature dealing with deprivation and stimulation for The Ripe Harvest, a volume devoted to the education of migrant children. He stated that the weight of the evidence suggests that "the effects of stimulation or deprivation operating in the early environment of the organism...are definite and lasting into subsequent stages of development" (p. 98). Studies of disadvantaged children and adults as well as animal studies and experiments suggested that there were three broad ways in which later adult behavior is affected by early experiences:

- (1) Persistence in adult behavior of habits formed early in life
- (2) Early perceptual learning affecting adult behavior
- (3) Critical periods of development in which brief stages in...  
life...may have strong effect on later behavior. (p. 90)

Strunk, like Ausubel and most other experts in the field, recommended an early attack on the effects of the limited environment in which the disadvantaged child lives. He recommended that an intervention approach be implemented at a very young age, younger than the usual age of four or five found in most preschools. There is an increasing body of literature, that he dealt with in his article, which recommends that children should start formal learning as early as possible in their first year of life to combat the cumulative effects of environmental deprivation. Strunk concluded that "the earlier help is given in the life of the individual, the better the chances for more complete development" (p. 98).

The psychological and social effects of environmental limitations are discussed below in Section II.B.

## 5. Language

Language provides the most significant means of interaction between people and between groups of people. It is the symbolic medium of communication employed in storing and transmitting knowledge, culture, and values; it serves as an integrative factor, enabling individuals to identify with each

other and providing group identity; it is a means by which people express both their simplest and most complex needs, thoughts, emotions, and the like. An individual's entire perception and interpretation of his environment, physical and mental, is either expanded or limited by his language ability. In fact, one could say that mental life is dependent on language. The extent to which one masters language is related to the extent to which he can master the various conditions and challenges he will encounter.

Language is, of course, basic to the educational process. It underlies all activities which occur in the school, i.e., reading, writing, instruction in the various subject areas, as well as games, socializing, and the like. School success and verbal (language) ability are closely linked.

Ausubel (1967) discussed the impact of cultural deprivation on language development, "intelligence," and school performance. After pointing out the effects of lack of stimuli in the environment of a disadvantaged child, he said:

It is small wonder, therefore, that the abstract vocabulary of the culturally deprived child is deficient in range and precision, that his grammar and language usage are shoddy, that his attentivity and memory are poorly developed, and that he is impoverished in such language-related knowledge as the number concepts, self-identity information, and understanding of the physical, geometric, and geographical environments. Social class differences in language and conceptual measures also tend to increase with increasing age, thus demonstrating the cumulative effects of both continued environmental deprivation and of initial deficit in language development. (p. 157)

The majority of problems which migrant children encounter in the schools appear to be language-related. These problems can be broken down into two categories: those stemming from a limited and inadequate command of English, and those stemming from a limited and inadequate command of English because English is not the child's native language or the language he communicates in. This view was well illustrated in Children at the Crossroads, a 1970 report issued by the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare that dealt with migrant education. The report stated that the minds and spirits of migrants "are the very personification of cultural isolation."

They hardly know the language of the country they are passing through. The Mexican American from the Rio Grande Valley is a foreigner in Michigan. So is the southern Negro in eastern Long Island. (p. 1)

Schnur (1970) summarized several studies which dealt with the language problems of migrants in his literature review. He cited studies by Tinney (1965), Soderstrom (1967), and the Oklahoma State Department of Education (1968), all of which found that migrants and their children were handicapped by an inadequate command of the English language. The study conducted by the Oklahoma State Department of Education revealed a high rate of illiteracy among migrants. Only one-third of the migrant adults interviewed were able to read and write English; fewer than half of them could read and write Spanish, though it was their native language. Those who could read and write were limited by the inadequate education that they had had.

Garcia (1973) reported that migrant Mexican-American children in Michigan scored significantly lower on the Michigan Oral Language Productive Test (which measures the acquisition of standard oral English) than did Anglo migrant children at each of four age levels tested. Garcia concluded, on the basis of his data, that bilingual migrant children did not learn English from their English-speaking schoolmates. He recommended that special materials be developed for Spanish speakers which analyzed and utilized the results of student performance on the Michigan Oral Language Production Test.

Limited vocabulary and language skills and inability to conceptualize abstractions are characteristic of the communication pattern of disadvantaged groups. The result is a "poverty of language" which inhibits self expression, and results in the blunting of imagination, curiosity, and intellectual assertiveness. The child who is unable to express himself is "'trapped' by language--that of other people as well as his own" (Keach, et al., 1967, p. 4).

Even when there is a certain degree of mastery over language, expressiveness is often couched in colloquialisms or in dialect. Southard (cited in Schnur, 1970) found that migrant speech patterns were not linguistically accurate; migrants tended to develop their own colloquialisms which limited their ability to communicate with outsiders. A discussion of "Black English" (Abrahams and Troike, eds., 1972, p. 210) pointed out that it is a combination of Southern dialects which Negroes learned as they acquired English and which was reinforced by the social isolation imposed by race. Dialects may be functional for given groups; however, they identify the user, separate him from the mainstream of society, and present educational problems.

illiterate. His sample consisted of black and white Southern migrants whose native language was English. They were sometimes almost totally removed from the printed or written word. They had limited access to printed matter, did not read newspapers, and did not read or receive mail. These migrants often proved to be surprisingly articulate however, given their educational background, as evidenced by the many tape-recorded interviews which Coles collected as data. Coles reported that children learned to "fast pick up their parents' words" (p. 14) but came ill-prepared to school because of the lack of books, pictures, and other items which serve to enrich the cultural environment and enhance language ability.

In a specially prepared article on developing expressive powers in migrant children, Frazier (1972) discussed the general language characteristics of migrant children and some of their "strengths" on which a language program could be developed. These strengths were rooted in the migrant child's wide range of experience and direct contact with the real world, rather than the world of books.

Frazier pointed out that the migrant child is often heir to what might be termed a preliterate and purely oral culture. "He learns many of the skills and much of the substance of his way of life by listening and speaking as well as by watching and witnessing" (p. 138). The child raised in an oral culture is "skillful in ways that may have been lost to many of us and are possibly undervalued by most or all of his teachers" (p. 143). He and Coles share the same view, that the oral culture of the migrant provides areas of competencies which should be utilized in the school program.

Frazier itemized the strengths on which to build further language development. They are briefly listed below.\*

- (1) Narrating: An oral culture puts a high value on the skills of story-telling, recounting real events, and singing.\*\*
- (2) Socializing: The migrant child has the opportunity to make new contacts and to be interesting because of his changing environment.

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\* Frazier's suggestions are being dealt with because they present a perspective not heretofore encountered in the theoretical literature dealing with the education of migrant children; this view is also not well-represented in formal program proposals or descriptions of existing programs. For a discussion of existing migrant education programs dealing with language, see Chapter III.

\*\* Friedland and Nelkin (1971) discuss these extensively.

- (3) "Funning and fooling around": The play element in an oral culture<sup>\*</sup> looms large. Active games, language games such as riddles, jokes and mimicking, and kidding and wheedling abound.
- (4) Aggressing: Verbal aggression, such as that used in disputing, confrontation, "cussing out," teasing, and tormenting, are well developed in oral cultures.\*
- (5) Getting serious: The ways of marking crucial events of human life are highly formalized. Lamenting misfortune, expressing grief, praying and preaching are all examples of familiar oral activities.

The methods recommended by Frazier for capitalizing on these characteristics of oral language and using them as a "bridge" to literacy may well make the difference between a successful and unsuccessful language program. Frazier suggests using methods that revolve around three types of expressive activities: creativity, performance, and interaction.

Problems faced by those who speak a language other than English and who may or may not have some fluency in English are somewhat different from those discussed above. Children of Mexican-American migrants who speak little or no English are doubly handicapped in the school situation.

Information issued by the National Center of Education Statistics (NCES) (1976) estimates that over 2 million children from non-English-speaking homes attended educational institutions, ranging from nursery school through college, in 1975. An estimated 1,685,000 spoke Spanish as their home language. Other European or Asian languages were spoken by over 200,000 students attending grades 1 through 12. In the migrant stream, Spanish predominates as the "other language" although there are groups who speak languages such as Japanese, Filipino, Navajo and other American Indian languages, and even Russian and Punjabi. The majority of today's migrant agricultural workers are Spanish-speaking, as are their children. One California estimate, for example, is that 85% of the children in that State who follow the migrant stream speak Spanish in the family (California State Board of Education, 1974, p. 1).

The NCES publication cited above states that "migrant children may have the same educational needs as the bilingual population in addition to needs related to brief tenure in a variety of educational settings" (p. 59). Bilingual components are found in many, if not most, ESEA Title I Migrant programs where children are mostly of Mexican descent.

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\* Friedland and Nelkin (1971) discuss these extensively.

This view was also held by Burma (1967) who stated that the chief educational problem of all Spanish-speaking children probably was their linguistic handicap:

The normal educational procedure is to admit children to school at six or seven, carry on all teaching in English, and trust that they will learn the language and the content material simultaneously. This does occur under optimum conditions; i.e., when the child is bright, strongly motivated and encouraged, sympathetically taught, and wholeheartedly included by his classmates in all activities. Unfortunately such a situation is rather rare, and most commonly the child learns both language and content imperfectly. Often this language handicap, difficult at any time, becomes progressively worse until it becomes insurmountable and the child fails repeatedly and finally leaves school (p. 89).

Burma goes on to say that another educational problem less dramatic than language, but equally significant, is the relatively low socio-economic level and its concomitant effects on many Mexican-Americans. He then points out that:

These factors are serious handicaps for any child, and the superimposition on them of bilingualism, cultural conflicts, and assimilation problems often has unfortunate results.

In addition to these difficulties, a significant number of Mexican American children must move about with their parents who are engaged in migratory agricultural labor. This means at best shifting schools several times, and at worst attending school only a few months of the year. Under a situation of permanent or temporary mobility the child and his parents must value education very highly to make the necessary effort and sacrifices so that the child can attend school regularly. (p. 89)

In past years, some States had forbidden Mexican-American children to speak Spanish in the school environment, apparently in the hope that the students would be either motivated or forced into using English, thereby learning the language of instruction, which is that of the larger society.

If the usual criteria used in assessing the success of an educational policy were to be employed, it would seem that the monolingual approach did not prove to be a successful one. A disproportionate amount of the following education-related characteristics are reported for the Mexican-American community; low achievement test scores, high percentage of school dropouts, low percentage of college attendance, low representation in white collar and professional occupations, and low average income. Other factors besides language policy (e.g., culture, social class, values, discrimination, etc.) are probably operative as well, but have not been adequately evaluated, as has been pointed out by Mackey (cited in Cornejo, 1974).

Nava (1970, 1973) has charged that the side effects of this "policy of language repression" were: to devalue both the language and the culture associated with it, to condition many Mexican-Americans to the acceptance of second class citizenship, and to cause many students to drop out of school because of the language barrier. He pointed out that, although Mexican-Americans are predominantly urban, in the state of California they constitute 60% of the agricultural field hands. He perceived the problem of education as being a most serious one for both settled urban and rural Mexican-Americans. "The magnitude of the problem can be summarized," he said, "by reminding ourselves that no other racial or ethnic minority group...produces fewer High School graduates" (Nava, 1970, p. 132).

Since the passage of the ESEA Title VII Bilingual Education Amendment in 1967 a multitude of programs designed to upgrade the language skills of students who speak a language other than English have been developed. As a result, migrant students in a number of States have received special bilingual instruction. It is widely thought that bilingual (and bicultural) instruction will significantly aid migrant students in their adjustment to the school environment and will result in higher levels of achievement.

The 1974 Annual Report issued by the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children stated its position of support for Bilingual Education. The NACEDC recommended that "any LEA with over 5% of its students having a dominant language other than English must provide appropriate bilingual-bicultural personnel in the school..." (p. 51).

Bilingual programs represent a wide range of attitudes and approaches, ranging from an extreme ethnocentric view of the Mexican-American culture and Spanish language to a position of using Spanish only in a remedial manner in order to move students as quickly as possible into English usage and instruction (Cornejo, 1974). Ballestros (cited by Cornejo, 1974) supported a moderate bilingual philosophy when he presented five positive purposes that a bilingual program serves:

1. It reduces age-grade retardation through ability to learn with the mother tongue immediately.
2. It reinforces the relations of the school and the home through a common communication bond.
3. It projects the individual into an atmosphere of personal identification, self-worth, and achievement.
4. It gives the student a base for success in the field of work.
5. It preserves and enriches the cultural and human resources of a people. (p. 5)



The attitudes exhibited by Mexican-Americans toward bilingual instruction are ambivalent. While some, such as Nava, believe that bilingual education will improve the educational performance of all Mexican-Americans, rural or urban, migrant or settled, others express their doubts.

Stoddard (1970) pointed out that, although Spanish-speaking students are referred to as "bilingual," they are often "bi-illiterates," unable to read and write either in Spanish or in English. They have no command of any language. Their Spanish may be limited to the spoken word and their English is rudimentary and limited to that used in public school instruction (p. 111). He also raised the intriguing question of which Spanish was to be used in bilingual instruction. Was it to be the informal barrio vernacular or the more formal language deemed acceptable in school and in which children would receive continued education (p. 115)?

Another example of the ambivalence elicited by bilingual education is provided in information published by the Somerton School District in Arizona (Arizona Department of Education, 1975). Somerton is located near the Mexican border and has a continuous influx of Spanish speakers and migrant agricultural workers. Somerton averages more than 500 migrant children per year in a program that enrolls 1200 children from kindergarten through the eighth grade. The Somerton program has been a demonstration project for ESEA Title I Migrant education since 1967. The student population was more than 80% Mexican-American, many of whom spoke only Spanish. There were also about 60 Indian children enrolled, some of whom knew two and even three languages. When it was decided to institute a bilingual program at Somerton, reactions were varied:

Objections from parents and the community were neither short-lived nor easily solved, but communication helped as much as anything to minimize the problems....Support from the Anglo parents was strong and constant. Some Mexican-American parents felt that their children should learn English at school and nothing else. They were not convinced that instruction in Spanish, initially, would be of long-range benefit to their children. Other Mexican-American parents had refused to teach their children Spanish at home, and they did not want the school doing this either. Some parents felt that learning in two languages would slow up the entire class, and the students would fall behind other classes. Some parents, along



with some members of the Parent Advisory Committee, felt that Mexican-American teachers were required for a better presentation of the language and the culture of Mexico. A few members of the community, without children in school, were sure that the district had gone completely off the deep end by allowing teachers to use Spanish in the classrooms, regardless of the reasons. (p. 4)

Gutierrez and Lujan (1973) studied the attitudes towards the Spanish language of Mexican-American migrants and of settled-out migrants. They found that Spanish was the primary language of communication for the large majority of families surveyed and that both groups were handicapped by their lack of English ability. Nonetheless, almost all of the families interviewed preferred to have Spanish taught to their children and a preference for bilingual education was widespread.

Cornejo (1974) authored a monograph on bilingual education which dealt with its inherent complexities and ambiguities. Although he concluded that "bilingual programs in the United States represent a tremendous potential for upgrading the education of the linguistic communities of the country" (p. 116), he pointed out that current programs have many shortcomings: few are based on research or deal with the many variables that interact with a bilingual program. In addition, little evaluative data are available, thus making it difficult to assess the effectiveness of bilingual education.

The absence of objective evaluation measures is a serious problem in trying to assess the impact of bilingual programs. Although migrant students are often enrolled in special programs that are called bilingual, it is not known what, if any, progress they have made as a result of this special instruction, or what, indeed, the programs' characteristics are. A Research Triangle Institute in-house survey (1976) of State reports from the years 1972-1975 showed that 25 States reported bilingual programs, but only six\* said that they had done any testing or evaluation of students in these programs. In a few of these States, the testing program was local rather than statewide.

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\* Connecticut, Florida, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, and Illinois.

## 6. Academic Achievement

School systems assess academic achievement and progress through objective standardized achievement measures administered periodically. These evaluative measures are usually norm related tests that measure the students' performance against the performance of others. Occasionally criterion-referenced tests, which assess a students' own progress and mastery over certain skills and tasks, are employed.

The subject of evaluation of migrant students' achievement and progress has generated a great deal of controversy, centered around the appropriateness of the types of tests employed for the population being tested. Therefore, any discussion of migrant achievement, as measured by achievement tests, must be prefaced by some qualifying remarks.

The evidence seems to indicate that migrant students of kindergarten age do not enter school too far "behind" nonmigrant children or children in the norm groups, as measured by standardized achievement tests, but that they fall further and further behind as they move through the grades (California State Department of Education, 1971; University of the State of New York, 1973, D. A. Lewis Associates, 1976).

It is recognized that there are many problems related to the use of standardized achievement tests designed primarily for middle-class students of the dominant cultural groups. There may also be a test bias against students from minority groups, low socioeconomic levels, different language groups, and/or from different cultures. In addition to problems associated with bias, tests are often used in inappropriate ways (Deutsch, 1963; Green, 1972; Littlefield, 1972). The U. S. Office of Education recognized these problems early in the life of the compensatory education programs and, in its 1967 report on ESEA Title I programs, stated that standardized tests are inappropriate for use with migrant students because so many of them have problems reading English and because of the built-in middle class bias of these tests (USOE report, cited by Schnur, 1970).

A further problem in using achievement test data gathered from a variety of sources, as migrant scores have been, is the noncomparability of scores. No single instrument is used uniformly on a nationwide basis, and even within a State there may be no single prescribed test. There is no uniformity in the number of tests used, the frequency of testing, the time tests are administered, etc.

The multiplicity of tests employed was well illustrated in one survey of ten States. It was found that in one State ten different instruments measuring achievement and skills were used. Even when a State prescribed only one achievement test for all testing of migrant students, the prescribed test was usually not the same as that prescribed by other States (Exotech, 1973).

An additional complicating factor is that some States have tried to minimize some of the test limitations cited above. Iowa, for example, has revised parts of the standardized achievement tests it employed so that students with language limitations would not be handicapped too severely by the English language test structure (Schnur, 1970).

It is clear that generalizations about the achievement levels of migrant students or about migrant educational gains are fraught with problems. Nonetheless, if academic achievement levels are to be assessed (even roughly), then those instruments that are available, albeit imperfect, should be used, but their shortcomings must be recognized.

There are no national data pertaining to the achievement levels of migrants. The statistics and conclusions cited below are drawn from either individual State reports or from studies that surveyed samples of student achievement data.

Veaco (1973) reviewed several studies dealing with migrant students' achievement levels. These studies reported that migrant students scored lower on achievement tests than nonmigrant students of the same age. Reading achievement levels were found to be lower than mathematics achievement in a number of studies. Data gathered in a New Jersey high school (Ritzenthaler cited by Veaco, 1973) showed that the average migrant student scored 3 to 4 years below grade level in reading. A study that employed the Migrant Student Record Transfer form (Barnes, cited by Veaco, 1973) revealed that 7% of the students in the sample were nonreaders, and 56% read below the grade level average (only 35% read at grade average, while 3% were skilled readers). On a standardized achievement test, students averaged 1.3 grades below their grade level.

Veaco also noted a California State Department of Education Report (1971) that stated that migrant students generally show achievement gains

of only 0.7 month for every month spent in school.\* The report pointed out that this "retardation" in achievement was cumulative. A later California State Department of Education publication (1974) said that "achievement in basic skills at the elementary level will typically lag two to three years behind expectation..." (p. 1).

New York State, in its 1973 report for the fiscal year 1972, included test results of the reading and arithmetic subtests of the Wide Range Achievement Test (WRAT) that it had administered to approximately 1420 students in the summer migrant program.\*\* Achievement levels for migrant children were lower than those of children the same age in the norms group, and the difference increased as grade in school rose. Migrant children of kindergarten age scored only .23 of a grade below the "average" pupil in reading; between the fourth and fifth grades the gap widened perceptibly and continued to widen in subsequent grades. By the ninth grade level, the difference between migrant children and those in the norm group was 3.07 grades.

The data for arithmetic resembled those for reading. The gap in scores between the norm group and the migrant group increased from .11 at the kindergarten level to 3.60 at the ninth grade level.

The New York report pointed out that, although the gap between the norm group and migrant students continued to widen, there was a steady upward trend for migrants, indicating slower than average, but continuous, growth in both reading and arithmetic. The tests were readministered after the summer program and progress appeared to have been made in that, on the average, scores improved, but still did not match the norms except in arithmetic. For that subject, the achievement level of migrant students was similar to that of the norm group until the fourth grade level, when a sharp divergence occurred.

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\* Though the probable misleading nature of grade-equivalent scores for many tests is well documented, this remains the method by which test scores are most often reported. All such reports should, however, be viewed with caution because of the statistical difficulties inherent in them.

\*\* The WRAT is an individually-administered, open-ended test rather than a multiple choice test (University of the State of New York, 1973).

The Exotech Study (1974) has already been discussed in the section dealing with age-grade comparisons. It presented data collected by some of the States in the study sample that showed that migrant students were behind their age cohorts in grade levels. The contention was made, in the report, that it took approximately three years for the average migrant student in California and in Texas to move the achievement level equivalent from third to fourth grade (p. II 23). After that, he was unable to catch up, and the gap between the average migrant student and the norm group continued to widen. Another source (University of the State of New York, 1972) has pinpointed this seemingly critical point in achievement as occurring about a year later. This difference of a year may be due to combinations of variations in the school-starting age of the samples, the curricula, or promotion policies. It is interesting to note that this difficult period in achievement seems to coincide with school grades in which the content begins to move from the simple and the concrete to the more complex and abstract. Reading ability, language, cognitive style, and experiential background become increasingly important in academic achievement as grade in school increases and the material to be studied and mastered becomes more difficult.

#### 7. Dropping Out

The ESEA Title I Migrant Education Amendment seeks to upgrade the quality and the quantity of education that migrant children receive. There are two purposes for this sought-after improvement in education; they are to educate the migrant child sufficiently so that: (1) he will have alternatives to the migrant agricultural life if he desires to leave it, (2) he can improve his life style in a material and in a social sense, regardless of whether he remains in the migrant stream or leaves it. For these goals to be realized, students must come to school relatively regularly and must remain in school.

An extremely high dropout rate was reported by every source dealing with the education of migrant children. The estimate of a 90% dropout rate prior to high school entry has been frequently cited during the last decade. Despite expansion of educational programs serving migrant children, the

dropout rate does not seem to have been affected yet. But it is somewhat premature to assess the impact of the ESEA Title I. Migrant program on school retention rates. A 1975 Education Briefing Paper of the U. S. Office of Education cites the same above-mentioned figure, saying, "Nine out of 10 children of migrant farm workers never enter high school and only 1 out of 10 of those who do ever graduates."

This figure stands in striking contrast to several studies which have reported that the large majority of migrant students expect to graduate from high school and that the majority of parents would like for their children to graduate (Consulting Services, 1971; Exotech, 1974; Orr, cited by Schnur, 1970). Although migrant parents verbalize support for their children's continuing in school, Schnur (1970), in his review of the literature, reported that most parents have doubts about their children's completing high school. "There was," he said, "the lack of strong goal orientation with regard to secondary education on the part of both students and parents" (p. 16).

Migrant students in four States (Florida, New Jersey, Texas, and California) were asked about their educational expectancies. Eighty-five percent of the elementary school students and 89% of the secondary school students said that they expected to graduate from high school.

Many migrant students express a desire to leave farming and many parents would like for their children to find other types of employment. When asked about their attitude towards continuing in farming, only 38% of the elementary and 19% of the secondary students indicated that they would like to work with crops (Consulting Services, 1971, p. 22).

The 1974 Exotech Study explored the question of migrant dropout rates. Their estimates of the percentages of migrant children entering the ninth and the twelfth grades were somewhat higher than those usually cited. A rapid dropout of migrant students immediately after the eighth grade was reported. The report said that:

The average student population has about a 96% chance of entering the ninth grade and an 80% chance of entering the twelfth grade, but the migrant students have about a 40% chance of entering the ninth grade and a 12% chance of entering the twelfth grade. (p. II 18)

This study also collected school enrollment figures for migrant students in the three base States of California, Florida, and Texas. The aggregated data for these migrant students were then compared "to the average percent of the student population enrolled per grade for all children in the United States," (Exotech, 1974, pp. II 13-5). The data showed a dramatic decline in the enrollment of migrant children as grade level ascended. A very high percentage of the total enrollment of migrant children is found in the lower grades. These data are similar to the results reported in Wednesday's Children (National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children, 1971).

Economic need and poor school performance are usually cited as the two major causes of migrant students dropping out of school at age 12 or 14 (Schnur, 1970). Principals in ten base and receiving states were asked to indicate the reasons they thought that migrant students dropped out of school. They were asked, "WHAT ARE THE PRIMARY REASONS FOR MIGRANT STUDENTS DROPPING OUT OF SCHOOL COMPLETELY?" Seven reasons were listed, and principals responded to each reason in an affirmative or negative manner. The reasons given were:

- (1) Physical
  - (2) Economic
  - (3) Marriage and/or pregnancy
  - (4) Lack of communication skills
  - (5) Disciplinary actions
  - (6) Curriculum inconsistent with students' needs
  - (7) Other
- (Exotech, 1974, pp. II 18-20).

The primary reason given by principals for dropping out of school was financial (2). Lack of communication skills (4) and "curriculum inconsistent with student needs" (6) seemed to be major causes of school leaving as well. Lack of communication skills is probably highly related to poor school performance and failure. "Curriculum inconsistent with students' needs" is an ambiguous category which is probably also related to the other two above-mentioned causes of dropping out, but may also be related to the perceived relevancy of the curriculum to migrant life.

A follow-up question to the one above was asked of the principals, which was: "WHAT HAS BEEN DONE TO PREVENT MIGRANT STUDENTS FROM DROPPING OUT COMPLETELY?" The answers were classified into the nine areas listed below:

- (1) Truant Officer activities
- (2) Teacher speaking with parents at home/school
- (3) Providing services such as obtaining part-time jobs, free medical services, free lunches
- (4) Attempts to gear curriculum to child's specific interests
- (5) Providing transportation to/from school
- (6) Making parents aware of migrant program
- (7) Varying hours when child may attend school
- (8) Individualized counseling
- (9) Nothing

(Exotech, 1974, pp. II 21-2).

The two approaches to dropout prevention most reported by principals were numbers 4 and 7, changing the curriculum to meet child's specific interests and providing individual counseling.

The principals' responses showed that they did not address themselves to dealing with the problem of economics, which has been generally recognized as being a serious problem and which they themselves had given as the major cause of school leaving. About 50% of the responses dealt with the curriculum and providing individual counseling. A more appropriate response might have been to provide programs which would enable the student to both make some money and to remain in school, that is to earn and learn. The authors concluded that

If the migrant economic problems are indeed the major cause of migrant students dropping out, then much more emphasis needs to be given to methods of dropout prevention that affect this area. Parental counseling, provision of services such as part-time jobs or free lunches, transportation, and varying hours so that a student may work and also attend school would seem to have much more effect on the economic problem than individual counseling or curriculum adjustment. (Exotech, 1974, p. II 22)



Poor academic performance in school, being overage for the grade enrolled in, and poor attendance can perhaps be minimized by changes in school programs, greater flexibility, counseling of students and parents, and vocational or career education. The evidence indicates that these innovations should be implemented in the early junior high school years if they are to be effective, because almost 60% of migrant students have dropped out of school by the ninth grade.

If the migrant farm worker is to better his lot, either by leaving the migrant stream for other types of employment or by remaining in agriculture but in positions which require greater skills and training (as mechanized and modern farming does), then the educational opportunities for migrant children should be expanded greatly and a complete reversal between the figures cited above for dropouts and for high school graduates must occur.

## B. Psychosocial Characteristics

The characteristics discussed in this section are in large part the byproducts of many of the factors discussed in Chapter I and Chapter II, Section A. Socioeconomic status, ethnicity, the work situation, mobility, language, etc., all influence the migrant student's attitudes and behavior.

The discussion of the psychological and social aspects and ramifications of these characteristics can best be understood when couched in a general understanding of the milieu in which the child is raised, the child-rearing procedures employed, and the process of child development. While an extensive treatment of childhood socialization patterns is not within the scope of this report, the importance of the child's environment and his relationship to others, particularly "significant others," should be recognized as providing the backdrop for the following discussion.

The discussion below focuses on the more abstract aspects of the life of migrant children, those psychological and social characteristics and patterns of behavior which evolve as the child becomes socialized to a life of migrancy. These characteristics are generalizations, sometimes verging on stereotypes. There are individual differences between migrant children, just as there are between all children, but for them as a group (just as for all groups) there are certain general, identifiable ways of behaving.

The information and data presented in this section are based primarily on descriptive sources. While there are a few studies of the psychological and social aspects of the life of migrants and their children which employed statistics and reported test data, the majority of available material comes from field studies, observations, interviews, and other subjective methods. This should be borne in mind, because there is often a tendency to over-generalize material of this sort. It should also be noted that most of these data were gathered prior to 1970 and a number of individuals who are involved on a day-to-day basis in migrant education believe that some changes have occurred since these various studies were conducted.

Three major factors have an impact on the life of the migrant child. They are: (1) mobility, (2) type of work he and his parents are engaged in, and (3) his cultural/ethnic minority group status. The psychological

characteristics discussed are divided into three parts, corresponding to these three major factors. The last topic, culture, is dealt with in a greater detail because it is within this sphere that the psychosocial characteristics of the migrant child can best be understood. Each section, however, takes as its underlying "given" the conditions implicit in the other two.

Mobility and occupation are necessary concomitants, as has already been discussed, of the migrant's life. The migrant worker and his family "follow the crops" looking for employment. All other considerations are relegated to a position of secondary importance to that of work. Agricultural work of this sort, although considered unskilled, does require certain types of abilities and thus only a special group of people seek it out.

The migrant agricultural worker is usually ethnically and culturally different. The difference lies not only in his physical appearance but in the special and identifiable migrant subculture which has evolved as an adaptation to the conditions imposed by migrancy. Additional cultural differences stem also from the minority status of most migrants. Except for a small percentage of white migrants, the large majority are "ethnics": Mexican Americans, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Filipinos, Jamaicans, etc.\* Each of these groups maintains some of its original cultural practices which creates variations within the migrant subculture itself.

#### 1. Characteristics Related to Mobility

Robert Coles has traveled with, studied, and written about migrant life. He has applied the term "uprooted" to characterize the life style of migrants, a life of impermanence, rootlessness, and transiency (Coles, 1970).

Although migrant children "pass through" many places, they have little contact with the people or the towns they pass through. Even when they are settled down for a while, in camps or individual housing, their interaction with the residents of the countryside or adjacent communities is minimal. This isolation is both self-imposed and imposed from the outside.

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\* The various ethnic groups cited above have been reported as migrants in the State reports.

Migrant children must move from location to location. The impermanence and instability this involves is not offset by the stability usually provided in the family situation. Coles (1965, 1970, 1971), Sutton (1962), and Davis (1972) all stated that the migrant child does not like to move around as much as he does and that he would prefer to stay in one place, like "regular people" (Davis, p. 6). Both Coles and Davis provided information which seemed to indicate that a majority of migrant children long to live a more permanent type of existence, fantasize about living in one house and going to one school all of the time, and aspire to be something else in "the world outside" of the migrant camps.

The direct impact of mobility on schooling, in terms of attendance, achievement, and amount of education completed on the part of the migrant child, has been discussed in the first section of this chapter. The indirect impact of mobility on schooling, such as the longing to settle down described above, are the attitudes, feelings, and actions demonstrated by the migrant child in response to this basic condition of his life.

Davis (1972), who herself was a migrant child, described some of the effects of mobility as she experienced it. Mobility creates a certain feeling of noncommitment and noninvolvement in the migrant child. He makes "no investment" in the location he is in or the people he meets because he does not expect to return. However, as Sutton (1962) pointed out, the migrant child will talk about the places he lived and of some of the "special" things he did there, events which occurred, or unique things about the place that he liked or disliked. He will express regret at leaving places he enjoyed. But there is a pervasive sense of not getting involved. Often the child will refuse to assume certain types of responsibilities outside of familial obligations and will reject any obligation to do things for other people or for the enhancement of places he may be in. There is a tendency to feel that, if things don't go well, one can always move to "greener pastures" and escape to a better situation (p. 10).

Davis raised the question of noninvolvement as a positive or a negative characteristic. The migrant child has the illusion that he can escape from his problems and his poverty. The suggestion here was that the child's mode of adaptation to the personal problems created by his mobility may be functional for him, given his condition of transiency, but dysfunctional for him in the school setting or in a more stable situation.

Sometimes the migrant experiences overt discrimination. Both adults and children of the community may react to migrants with prejudice and fear, not wanting their children to be in the same classroom as migrant children (Stockburger, 1971). Migrant children from minority groups are doubly vulnerable to discriminatory attitudes and practices.

Rejection, discrimination, being treated as an outsider are all damaging to the child's sense of self-worth. His discomfort and his tendency to blame himself make him feel that he is indeed an unworthy person. He becomes fearful and self-conscious, and his feelings about himself are brought into question and often damaged, leaving him with a low self-concept and a sense of certain failure (Coles, 1965; Sutton, 1962).

This internalized reaction to the actual and, later, to the "perceived" responses of other people sets up a syndrome of apathy and withdrawal. Often children expecting their own rejection or failure unwittingly create the conditions for their predictions to come true. This "self-fulfilling prophecy," in which individuals predict and confirm their own anticipation, occurs among teachers as well. Teachers often get the results they expected, not necessarily because their perceptions were accurate, but because they either perceived selectively or structured the situation to conform to what they expected (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968).

The migrant subculture resembles the so-called "culture of poverty" in many ways, but is differentiated, in addition to mobility, by unique characteristics and values, such as the importance placed on work, on family life, and on self-reliance. Few migrants, for example, seek or even seem to desire welfare benefits (Bryce, cited by Schnur, 1970).

Each of these three factors of mobility, occupation, and culture operate in unison to create a condition in which the migrant farmer operates. In pursuit of work, he crisscrosses the country, staying in one place for a while, and then moves on again. With him he takes his family and his "culture". Because of his poverty, he has little else to take. On the road, the children soon learn the way of life of the migrant, its expectations and disappointments, its physical hardships and emotional releases. The migrant becomes a marginal person, caught between the small world he lives in and the larger one he is excluded from, but to whose standards

and requirements he is expected sometimes to conform. He is "invisible" to its institutions, its official agencies, and to the majority of townspeople (Friedland and Nelkin, 1971; Nelkin, 1970).\*

In addition, this sense of personal isolation from the community leads to social isolation as well. Sutton (1962) found that migrant children did not enter into group games in school and avoided organized activities. They had difficulty learning to play with others in organized games, did not want to "play by the rules," and did not understand team spirit. This social (or antisocial) response was in part culturally-produced, and in part based on fear, low self-concept, and a perceived sense of inadequacy in that type of social situation.

The migrant child is a temporary resident. He usually does not develop ties to places or to people he encounters in the various places he lives. The migrant child does not make many friends. To do so requires effort, emotional investment, and the risk of being rebuffed or ridiculed. When friendships are established or the child develops a special fondness for a school, a teacher, or a place, these objects of affection must be left behind and the contact disrupted, usually permanently, taking an emotional toll. Thus, the child rarely tries to develop personal ties outside of the family or the camp. As a result, he has no place in the hierarchy or "pecking order" of the school class (Stockburger, 1967). Hawkes (1973) reported that even among adults in the migrant camps, "neighboring" (defined as day-to-day interactions with friends and neighbors) was low.

In recounting her school experiences, Davis told of her feelings as an outsider and her lack of friends: "From my viewpoint as a migrant child, the most characteristic element of my life may be summarized in a brief sentence: I did not belong." At every move, she resolved to make a good

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\* ESEA Title I Migrant Education programs have attempted to make the schools and other community institutions responsive to migrant children and their needs. Many of the State reports surveyed as well as data gathered during site visits by Research Triangle Institute project personnel seems to indicate that migrants are no longer invisible to community institutions and to the community power structure. There is no evidence, however, to indicate that the migrants' sense of isolation or marginality has decreased or that the migrants are more acceptable to the townspeople. Information gathered during the site visits showed that some communities were receptive to migrant education programs but not necessarily to the migrants, while other communities resisted having ESEA Title I programs in their schools.

"first impression," to make good in the next school, but she says that she entered each new school as inept as ever. "I never did learn how to make friends; but there was always the possibility that I would. In the next school" (p. 11).

## 2. Characteristics Related to Occupation

The work which migrant laborers pursue so unrelentingly is physically hard, poorly paid, temporary and intermittent, and, for the most part, located in relatively isolated rural areas.

The physical hardship of agricultural hand labor takes its toll of parent and child alike. Children who work, and most work at least some of the time, are tired when in school and often miss school entirely. They may feel physically unwell as a result of their labor. As the children work alongside their parents, the hardship of their parents' lives, coupled with their senses of frustration and hopelessness, is transmitted to the children. Children begin to mirror their parents' attitudes and their apathy; their spirits and their minds begin to be dulled by the migrant life. School often seems irrelevant, and the "better life....education could offer is nowhere around them" (Coles, 1970).

The irregularity of work reinforces the migrants' view of life as being unpredictable and uncontrollable. Children begin to exhibit the same behavioral pattern their parents do: that of waiting, "killing time", living for the moment, and viewing the world as an illogical and irrational place (Nelkin, 1970).

The migrant farm worker usually works and lives away from any center of population, in sparsely populated countryside, although he and his family may live in overcrowded conditions in grower-owned housing or public camps. Some Mexican American migrants, working near large towns or cities, may live in the barrios, particularly if they have family located there. Not a great deal is known about the arrangements these migrants make or if living in proximity to the larger society encourages them to leave the migrant life.

The migrant child is isolated from the mainstream of society also by being a predominantly rural child. The urban type of life is not visible to him. The health, cultural, social, and educational resources that exist

in densely-populated areas are not available. The isolation imposed by residence also limits the availability and visibility of role models which are so important in childhood socialization and in the socialization of work. The child comes into contact only with other migrant workers, the crew leader, teachers, a few storekeepers, and the like. He seldom encounters individuals representative of blue collar or white collar occupations.

The child's geographic location, as well as his poverty, often cuts him off from any contact with the mass media, including television, thus further limiting his exposure to the outside world and making him fearful of the unknown.

Rural education itself is fraught with problems, aside from the overcrowding caused by migrant children and the instructional problems brought by them to the schools. Two aspects of the rural population create obstacles to achieving good education:

- (1) the far-flung and widely-separated residences of rural children, which make it difficult and expensive to bring children together to go to school; and
- (2) the limited tax base of rural areas, which is dependent totally on rural farm and land values. (Kreitlow, 1971)

The U. S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (1968) reported that:

Thirty-five percent of the U. S. is rural, has 36% of the children but only 25% of the income. This narrow financial base, combined with the need to educate more children in a geographical setting that requires greater expense per pupil, has been detrimental to rural education. (cited by Kreitlow, 1971, p. 576)

Wilcox (1971) discussed the education of the rural disadvantaged child. Although there is no one discernible group that can be labeled "rural disadvantaged," there are many children who live in rural areas who meet the criteria discussed earlier. As was previously noted, the characteristics of the disadvantaged child parallel those of the migrant child. Rural children are included in many of the compensatory education programs and migrant children benefit from them as well.

Wilcox described the rural school child in this manner:

In very general terms, the rural disadvantaged child may exhibit all or some of the following characteristics: he resents being indoors, feels alienated, is easily frustrated, is slow at academic tasks, and is excitable and aggressive; he may be filled with self-pity, a victim of real or imagined ills, apathetic and remote, defensive, evasive, superstitious, and self-deprecating. (p. 577)



Other characteristics of rural children cited by Wilcox include: perceptual field, few skills in auditory discrimination, limited verbal skills, lack of parental guidance or aid in cultural or school-related work, low self-concept, and a self-image of failure. All of these characteristics have been cited by researchers working in the area of migrant child education.

### 3. Characteristics Related to Culture

Culture is an all-encompassing term that has been simply defined by Himes (1967) as the "thought-up, tried out, and preferred ways of acting together" demonstrated by groups of people. It thus includes language, values, attitudes, behavioral norms, and the abstract and material products of a cultural group (pp. 72-74). It is recognized that migrants represent a distinct subcultural group in our society and that even within that subcultural group there are still smaller groups that vary in some ways from each other.

#### a. Language

The language (colloquial, dialectical, or different) of migrant groups and the barrier it represents to adjustment and acculturation to the larger society and to adjustment and performance in the school setting were discussed in section A of this chapter and will not be dwelt on here. The following points should be emphasized, however: (1) language limitations and barriers curtail the understanding and achievement of the child and inhibit his own self-expression and communication with others; (2) misunderstandings and problems often arise in school because certain subjects, terms, items, or ideas may be "culture bound." The first point has been previously discussed; the second is succinctly explained by the following example given by Davis, whose family followed the migrant stream when she was a child.

Davis (1972) illustrated this point of "culture bound" experiences by explaining why and how she, an achievement-oriented migrant student, failed. The students in her class were called upon to explain a "process," how to do something. They were given a list of processes to select from, such as "washing the china, setting up a croquet game, playing ping pong or tennis,"

none of which she knew about. She experienced other anxieties over types of school work that were inappropriate because she did not have any cultural contact with them. Mathematical word problems which revolved around middle-class examples and vocabulary words that had no physical reality presented special problems.

b. Values and Attitudes

Values constitute the underlying, basic approaches, beliefs, morals, and ethics of an individual or a group. They provide a guideline for and heavily influence the individual's perceptions, judgments, and actions. Attitudes are the more visible manifestations of these values; they are expressed consciously and unconsciously in active and in passive ways, verbally and in behavior. It is difficult to assess the values that people hold; it is somewhat easier to assess their attitudes. Attitudes are inferred from opinions given and behavior observed. Measurement of attitudes is attempted through interviews, questionnaires, and observations of situational responses.\*

In this review of the literature, certain cultural characteristics and values are repeatedly reported by several researchers dealing with different samples of migrants, in different parts of the country. When a given characteristic appears to be documented regularly, it can be assumed, for the moment, that it is descriptive of that group.

A broad listing of some of the more widely-held values and attitudes of migrants, as reported in the literature, is given below. Many of them have been cited in previous sections. This listing is not intended to be an exhaustive one, but rather to

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\* It is apparent that when one deals with values and attitudes a certain element of inconsistency and unreliability exists. These are due to the facts that: (1) there is not necessarily a congruency between the two; (2) one does not always speak or act in accordance with his values, for a variety of reasons; (3) there are often contradictions in values, which are exhibited in ambivalent attitudes and behavior; (4) self-reporting may be unreliable; (5) many underlying values are influenced by situational factors; and (6) people change their attitudes. When group values and attitudes are discussed, as they are here, it is recognized that there is a great deal of individual variation within a group. Nonetheless, it is possible to make certain general statements, albeit somewhat guarded and qualified, based on repeatedly observed patterns and on statistical frequency.

indicate several of the most-reported values and attitudes which appear to be characteristic of all migrants, regardless of ethnicity. Many of these have a direct or indirect relationship to the educational process; many represent strengths of the migrant subculture which the school could focus on in its migrant educational programs. Broad values are cited first, followed by other more frequently observed manifestations of these values.

1) Values

a) Work

Work is a highly-held value. This appears to go beyond economic necessity, because migrants will travel far and work exceedingly hard to bring home less money than if they had stayed in one place and worked intermittently, or had applied for welfare benefits. The migrant child also demonstrates this value by helping his parents in their work from an early age, and by expressing his willingness and even eagerness to go to work to help the family, thereby necessitating his dropping out of school (Coles, 1965; Sutton, 1972).

b) Family relationships

Family relationships are highly prized. The cohesion of the family provides support for the child. The family serves as a "cushion" for his failures, in school and otherwise, and could serve as a motivating, reinforcing agent in school success.

c) Cooperation and competition

Sharing and cooperation seem to be a value, as shown in the section below which deals with money and material possessions. Demonstrated willingness to share and cooperate can be capitalized on in the school setting (Davis, 1972).

Competition is devalued. Migrant children find competition in school achievement, clothes, social demands "too much to bear" (Tinney, cited by Schnur, 1970, p. 16). The avoidance of competition explains, in part, the passive attitudes towards school performance

and participation in school activities reported in the literature (Tinney, cited by Schnur, 1970; Davis, 97

Migrant children acquire a sense of responsibility early. Feelings by responsibility are usually directed towards the family and its members. Migrant children are given and accept the responsibilities of helping in the home, caring for younger children and sick family members, and earning a living by working (Coles, 1965, 1970; Nelkin, 1971).

e)

Migrant children have been reported to have an early and well-developed sense of right and wrong (Coles, 1965, 1970). This may be due to the religious teachings of the churches the migrants are affiliated with (i.e., Fundamentalist Protestant in the South and Catholic in the Southwest and Far West).

## 2) Attitudes

### a) Passivity, fatalism, and alienation

Migrants tend to be passive as a result of their feelings of powerlessness and of their inability to exercise any control over their surroundings and, even, to sometimes make "sense" out of what is happening around them (Nelkin, 1970; Coles, 1971). The migrant is often alienated and may withdraw in apathy or burst forth in frustration and aggression (Friedland and Nelkin, 1971; Hawkes et al., 1973; Nelkin, 1970; Rodríguez, cited by Schnur, 1970). These attitudes have been noted by many classroom teachers.

Hawkes et al. (1973) reported that the larger study of disadvantaged urban and rural children, from which his migrant sample was drawn, found that of all the disadvantaged groups surveyed, migrants--as a group--were the most fatalistic and alienated. On a

measure of control (over the environment vs. fatalism, 62% of migrants were clearly fatalistic and only 10% felt that they could control their environment. However, when control over employment was measured, only 1% believed that they had any control over factors related to their employment.

Dempsey (1973) investigated the value orientations migrant workers from four different ethnic groups (blacks, Caucasians, Mexican-American, and Puerto Rican) as measured by expressed attitudes towards man's relation to other men, his relation to nature, his relation to time, and his relation to activity. It was Dempsey's thesis that the values associated with these areas affected the migrant child's performance in School.\* Intergroup differences were found as were common value orientations. None of the groups expressed a "mastery over nature orientation," (control) which is thought to be highly related to academic achievement. All four groups also expressed a strong affinity for external motivation. Dempsey concluded that these two common value orientations among the four groups was associated with their failure in the school environment.

Shannon (cited by Schnur, 1970) identified both passive and active modes of behavior among black and Mexican-American migrants he studied. Those who were more active exerted greater control over their lives and, he implied, could break away from the migrant life.

This passive-active model has implications for education, because it is the child who has not yet lapsed into an apathetic, fatalistic state of mind who has a greater chance of school success and mobility out of the migrant stream.

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\* And, as a corollary, curricula and techniques of instruction which would be congruent with the different value orientations should be developed.

b) Time orientation

Migrant children have a different perception of time and relationship to it than do nonmigrant children. There are two aspects of time which should be noted:

(1) Measurement of time

Clock time is not important to the migrant. Time is measured by the sun, by the seasons, the amount of work to be done, the rows picked, etc. This attitude on the part of some migrants may reflect the orientation towards time held by the Mexican American subculture, for others it may reflect their rural background, but for all migrants it reflects their separation and isolation from the larger society, where "time is money" and efficiency and productivity are measured in time (Coles, 1970; Nelkin, 1970).

This attitude towards time may be seen in the school in the student's relaxed attitudes towards school attendance, punctuality, turning in assignments, etc. (Coles, 1970; Nelkin, 1970; Davis, 1972).

(2) Present orientation

Migrants are geared to the present. So concerned are they about the present day-to-day existence that they "have forgotten their past heritage and have not planned for the future" (Southard et al., cited in Schnur, 1970).

Children's concerns are "geared to the realities of the present" and revolve around food, shelter, and clothing. They do not know what tomorrow will bring and do not plan ahead (Sutton, 1962, p. 28). Migrants, as a group, have been reported to be more concerned with the concrete aspects or properties of their actions than any other disadvantaged group studied (Hawkes et al., 1973).

The orientation toward the present, rather than the future, illustrates the migrant's inability to link cause and effect and his consequent unwillingness to plan ahead or make provisions for the future. Children tend to be present-oriented anyway but, in middle class culture, they see the results of planning and delayed gratification and are reinforced for these activities. Migrant students do not understand a future orientation because they have not seen its results.

This orientation is frequently noted in the classroom. Children often do not plan their time well, do not plan ahead, do not bring assignments in on time. It is seen when students drop out of school for immediate gains rather than wait to benefit from more education.

c) Money and material possessions

Migrant children recognize the value of money and are well aware of the handicaps imposed by lack of funds (Orr et al., cited by Schnur, 1970). Their inability to "be like others" in the school setting because they cannot buy clothes appropriate for school, school supplies, etc. has already been pointed out.

Sutton (1962) reported that "migrant children grow up without financial security and without learning to use money wisely when they have it" (p. 18). There is a general inability to budget money, so important when one is on both a limited and an irregular income. Because their income is small and undependable and the future is unpredictable, migrants, when they have money, tend to spend it right away, to get instant gratification. Later, they do not have enough money to live on or to make payments (Nelkin, 1970; Sutton, 1962).

Migrants are also not wise consumers. Due to lack of information and lack of experience, they are often exploited by salesmen, crew leaders, storekeepers, etc. (Nelkin, 1970; Sutton, 1962).

Material possessions are scarce. Although some personal items may be highly valued, all possessions are considered to be common property within the family. Borrowing from and sharing with other migrants are common and children learn to share early. Davis reported that she, as a child, got into trouble because she carried this attitude into the school and "borrowed" and "shared" when others were not prepared to do so (Davis, 1972; Sutton, 1962).

d) Self blame

The migrant child appears to have a tendency to internalize, rather than externalize, his seeming deficits, failures, and shortcomings. Orr et al. (cited by Schnur, 1970) reported that migrant students blamed themselves (rather than the school, the teachers, the material, or "circumstances") for poor academic achievement. Coles (1965) found that migrant children even blamed themselves for their illnesses and physical limitations and handicaps. This tendency to blame oneself, even for things beyond one's control, appears to be related to low self-concept.

3) Behavior

The behavior of migrants and their children has been discussed throughout this report. "Positive" and "negative" "functional" and "dysfunctional" behaviors, "strengths" and "weaknesses," "actions" and "reactions" have been dealt with as they were germane to the topic under discussion. There has been no attempt to catalogue the behavior of migrants because such an endeavor, for any group, represents a near-impossible undertaking.

The previous discussions of behavior are being supplemented in this section by a brief presentation of certain somewhat



related behaviors, which have been touched on but not developed in the preceding discussions. These behaviors have been reported by several authorities in the field and are directly related to the values and attitudes just discussed.

Passivity as a dominant mode of behavior was dealt with in an earlier section. However, there are lapses from passivity as a general way of behaving, the frequency depending on the personalities and circumstances involved. Outbreaks of aggressive behavior, verbal and physical, have been reported and analyzed by many researchers, among them Friedland and Nelkin (1971), Nelkin (1970), and Sutton (1962). Explanations of hostile and aggressive behavior are dealt with below.

Migrant children have been variously described as docile and passive and as aggressive, loud, and boisterous (Coles, 1965; Davis, 1972; Nelkin, 1970; Sutton, 1962). Like all individuals, their personalities differ and they respond to situations in different ways, some by introversion and withdrawal and others by extroverted methods, such as noisiness, aggression, and the like. Even aggression can be passive or active.

All of the writers cited above have pointed out repeatedly that the migrant child is exposed to the "hard realities" of life from infancy on. They hear about and see unemployment, desertion, adultery, drunkenness, fighting, quarreling, encounters with the law, sickness, and death.

Fighting is seen as an event that is not unusual. It may be branded as bad behavior and the police may be called in to stop it, but it is regarded as behavior to be expected when a person is drunk, when a person needs to defend himself, or when certain codes have been violated. Parents seem to value the ability to fight and expect their children to defend themselves against attack. Early in life, the migrant child learns to protect himself. (Sutton, 1962, p. 29)

The role that boredom plays in influencing behavior was noted by Coles (1971) and Nelkin (1970). Boredom is an ever-present fact of life for migrants. The type of work they do is inherently boring, and migrants have been observed to look forward to a change of crops just to be able to vary what they are doing. They are bored with their surroundings and their social contacts as well. They live in a restricted environment, particularly in the camps, with little opportunity for entertainment and few individual interests or hobbies. They interact with the same people continually, in work crews and after work hours, thus creating potential problems stemming from overexposure to and overfamiliarity with each other.

"Time is killed" by storytelling, arguing, bickering and quarreling in an almost ritualistic manner, drinking and gambling. Given these activities, combined with overexposure to each other and the frustrations of their lives, it requires little to propel the workers into fights and violence. This is particularly true during periods of scarce work. Then boredom and the demoralization accompanying unemployment are often reflected in violence. However, the violence usually lacks goals and appears to be more of an outlet for frustration than a result of true personality conflict (Nelkin, pp. 29-50).

4) Conflicting cultural values and adaptive modes

Mobility and its many effects on the migrant child has been dealt with at several points in this report. Ott (1971) summarized the impact of the many changes in the conditions of daily life involved in migrancy that bring the child into contact with "different places, different things and different people, customs, and values. If these changes occur often and if these differences vary greatly, she said, then "the psychological and emotional effect is that of environmental stress and cultural shock." (pp. 45-46)

The life of migrancy necessitates that the child move two, three, or more times a year. Each time he moves he is exposed to the changes that Ott described. There is, however, a daily change that many migrant children make, which serves as a continual reminder to and continued pressure on them; this change is related to school attendance.

Scott (1971) pointed out that the migrant child is usually propelled into a middle-class environment when he attends school. In many instances his classmates are more-advantaged middle-class students, but, even if they are not middle class, the environment, activities, and expected behaviors of the school reflect middle-class values. This almost daily change between environments requires continual accommodation on the part of the child; he is apt to feel a great deal of ambivalence, strain, and conflict. Scott explained the nature of this daily pressure.

The migrant child must make two major adjustments each day; one as he moves from his neighborhood environment to his school setting in the morning, and another as he reverses this in the afternoon. Because of different behaviors and values in each, he must make the necessary changes in his actions and attitudes if he is to cope with both worlds. (p. 35)

The inconsistency and conflict between the two worlds the migrant child inhabits affects the child's self-concept. Coles (1965) found that migrant children had positive view of the self and emotional strengths derived from their strong, supportive family relationships but that these positive self-images become eroded as contact with the outside world increased. The Naranja Florida report (Naranja Florida Special Education Project for Migrant Children, cited in Schnur, 1970) noted that migrant children in the sample studied exhibited good self-concepts within their own subculture but that "these good self-concepts rapidly deflate when the children must compete with other subcultures socially and academically." (p.22)

The stresses of living in two different worlds with two different sets of values, expectations, demands, and styles of life, takes its toll psychologically. Coles (1965), in his psychiatric study of the migrant farmer, noted that migrants accommodate to their dualistic life and its contradictory demands by employing two "distinct personality styles."

Many migrants seem to have constructed a split in their personalities which results in two distinct personality styles. With their children and husbands or wives they will often be warm, open, and smiling. At work, with strangers, and often with one another while traveling or even walking the streets, they are guarded, suspicious, shrewdly silent, or sullenly calculating in what they do have to say; and sometimes clearly apathetic, humorless or even bitter, resentful, and touchy. Such alterations in mood and attitude appeared to me as grim and striking examples of the capacity of the human mind to respond to its environment and keep itself intact by developing a high order of ability to divide itself severely and categorically. A mother said: "We switches back and forth from being in a good mood to a bad one because you learns how to travel, and you just make your head travel with you, so you gives yourself and kids a break from the field." (p. 26)

Nelkin (1970) and Davis (1972) both noted this phenomenon as well, Nelkin, writing about the field study conducted under the auspices of Cornell University that dealt with black migrants from the south, wrote:

Field researchers were struck by the dual personality exhibited by many migrants, who assumed a meek demeanor in the presence of white people but were aggressive in the camp. To remain inconspicuous, these migrants had learned to assume different styles of behavior according to what was expected of them. (p. 63)

Davis (1972), a white ex-migrant, remembered her experiences as a child and explained:

...I learned to live in two worlds. I became a compromising marginal type personality. Soon I could move from one role to another with considerable skill and even began to derive a certain pleasure from the experience....

It is imperative that anyone who would understand the migrant child be able to comprehend the full significance of this tendency to adapt and compromise. Much that is taken for lack of motivation, dishonesty, and lack of ambition or initiative may be related to this mechanism. (pp. 7-8)

Parental ambivalence is a good example of this duality. Davis discussed her parents' ambivalence toward the institutions of the town.

They understood something of the value of education. They would declare loudly to every caseworker, "We want to keep the kids in school." And they meant it when they said it. Still, school made deep inroads into their way of life. It limited freedom to travel and robbed the family of wage earners. (p. 9)

The point that Davis made, and which has not been dealt

dealt with sufficiently, is that many parents feel that their children's attendance at school and the exposure it provides to another way of life, with different cultural accompaniments, serve to create a gap between the generations. Speaking of her own parents and their attitudes toward school, she said, "It alienated them from their children and undermined their authority. They, too, had to negotiate the uncertain route along society's margins" (p. 9).

### C. Summary of Characteristics of Migrants

In reviewing the literature pertinent to the education of migrant children, one is impressed by the fact that, despite all of the environmental problems and uncertainties associated with the transient agricultural life, and the hardship conditions induced by low pay and hard labor, a portrait of a relatively stable and consistent subculture emerges. It is the existence of this subculture and its attendant values and practices that have led the numerous writers and educators in the field of migrant education to be optimistic about the outcomes of compensatory educational programs, specifically of ESEA Title I Migrant programs.

Throughout Chapters I and II of this review both the deficits and the strengths of migrant life have been identified. Numerous sources cited in the text of this report have recommended that these "strengths" of migrant life be capitalized on and made functional in the educational programs directed towards migrant children.

A concise summary of the positive characteristics that have been identified and discussed throughout the preceding chapters is given below. It should be recognized that these are generalizations and do not apply to all migrant children. It should also be recognized that these characteristics are tempered by and altered by the many constraints imposed by the migrant agricultural life such as mobility, isolation, and the many other factors that were discussed at length above. Finally, it should be recognized that the focus on the "positive" is not meant to obscure or deny the "negative" aspects of migrant life contained in this report but, rather, that it seeks to unify information which may be valuable to those utilizing this report for program planning and for program evaluation.

The following strengths of migrant children have been identified:

- (1) Migrant children generally belong to a well integrated and supportive family.
- (2) Migrant children are generally self-reliant and independent at an early age.
- (3) Migrant children generally internalize a strong work ethic early and usually implement it.
- (4) Migrant children generally have a well-developed sense of responsibility toward others.

- (5) Migrant children are generally mature beyond their years and usually demonstrate mature behavior.
- (6) Migrant children are generally cooperative and willing to share.
- (7) Migrant children generally adapt to different locations and to different conditions.
- (8) Migrant children generally appear to demonstrate well-integrated personalities and a positive self-concept within their own subculture.
- (9) Migrant children have been generally exposed to a wide variety of experiences as a result of travelling, living in close proximity to adults, and having early and sustained contact with reality.
- (10) Migrant children often have a different language and/or culture which is enriching.
- (11) Parents of migrant children increasingly recognize the desirability of obtaining an education; although they cannot or do not always follow through on this knowledge.

Other characteristics of migrant children and their families discussed in these first two chapters are summarized in the topical list presented below. This list is based on the various sources of research reports, books, articles, and interviews and is parallel to the materials cited in Chapters I and II of this review.

a. Economic

- 1) Low wages, uncertainty in work
- 2) Rural
- 3) Poor, effects of economic deprivation apparent
- 4) Substandard housing: few amenities, may lack some basic facilities, overcrowded, lack of privacy
- 5) May have insufficient food, clothing; few personal belongings and little furniture
- 6) Perceived low status (by selves and others)

b. Transient

- 1) Not part of community, feels self an outsider
- 2) Rootless, few ties to a given place

- 3) Malnourished, undernourished; low vitamin and protein intake
  - 4) High infant mortality
  - 5) Chronic illnesses, recurrent parasitic diseases, intestinal disturbance
  - 6) Visual and auditory defects
  - 7) Not well informed about health, sometimes fatalistic or superstitious on the subject
  - 8) Not usually covered by minimum wage laws, insurance, pensions, welfare, etc.
  - 9) Has marginal status because
    - a) Is geographically mobile
    - b) Is not part of a community
    - c) Usually belongs to a minority group
    - d) Has problems with language
- c. Cultural
- 1) Undereducated
  - 2) Limited exposure to larger culture and insulation from mainstream life
  - 3) Has subcultural identification, values, strengths
  - 4) Views life as serious and unpredictable
  - 5) Views time differently (i.e., clock time and future)
- d. Familial
- 1) Large, strong family unit
  - 2) Family very supportive
  - 3) Father tends to be dominant
  - 4) Life is family-centered and work-centered, the latter increasingly so after age 10
  - 5) Everyone in family works
  - 6) Children care for children, often missing school to do so
- e. Developmental
- 1) Early self-reliance
  - 2) Young work, contribute to economy of family
  - 3) Strong and early development of right and wrong
  - 4) Laissez-faire child-rearing patterns; child has much freedom, is independent early



- 5) Discipline is physical; child is acquiescent ("good") but latent anger builds up
- 6) Affection is physical
- 7) Limited contact with "successful" role models
- 8) Curtailed adolescence; thus, no "youth culture" as such or strong peer reference groups
- 9) Early maturation and independence ("being on own") hastened by
  - a) Early sexual contact
  - b) Early liaisons/marriage
  - c) Early child-bearing, many children

f. Health

- 1) Poor prenatal care
- 2) Problems related to poor hygiene and lack of preventive and diagnostic medical services
- 3) Malnourished, undernourished; low vitamin and protein intake
- 4) High infant mortality
- 5) Chronic illnesses, recurrent parasitic diseases, intestinal
- 6) Visual and auditory defects
- 7) Not well informed about health, sometimes fatalistic or superstitious on the subject

g. Psychological and social

- 1) Generally well integrated personality within own subculture
- 2) Develops low self concept as result of contact with larger society
- 3) Relatively secure in family and work situations; insecure in school and community contact
- 4) Limited social contact outside of family
- 5) Feeling of social isolation
- 6) Present-oriented
- 7) Fear of new situations, being alone; high anxiety
- 8) Low risk-taking; tendency to rigidity in contacts outside of family or camp
- 9) Tendency to conform
- 10) Tendency to self-blame for poor health, school failure, etc.
- 11) Tendency to be moody, passive, latently hostile

- 12) May drink to excess on occasion, release aggression
- 13) Early emotional strengths derived from supportive family environment get eroded
- 14) Exhibits dual modes of adjustment to own subculture and that of outside world.

h. Educational

- 1) Age/grade retardation
- 2) High dropout rate
- 3) Low achievement levels
- 4) Intermittent attendance, high absenteeism, late entry and early withdrawal
- 5) Lack of records
- 6) No uniformity or consistency in education (i.e., curriculum, methodology, etc.)
- 7) Often lacks minimal school supplies, fees, etc.
- 8) Not achievement-oriented, low motivation, may be apathetic
- 9) Lack of a variety of language and conceptual skills
- 10) Often feels uncomfortable in school, an outsider, self-conscious; different in clothes, language, ethnicity, educational attainment, and even age
- 11) Often unable to consistently discipline self in group
- 12) Doesn't participate in extracurricular activities
- 13) No place at home to study, do homework, etc.
- 14) Doesn't have access to supplementary, enriching educational materials outside of the school
- 15) May be social isolate, reticent, etc.
- 16) Has limited access to other educational opportunities
- 17) Parental ambivalence toward education
  - a) Express wish for children to complete high school
  - b) Have little hope that children will graduate
  - c) Work takes precedence over education
- 18) Not socialized to world of work in a technical-industrial society
- 19) Limited access to vocational programs which provide actual training in semi-skilled and skilled occupations

D. Similarities and Differences between Presently and Formerly  
Migrant Children

The literature dealing with migratory agricultural workers tends to treat them as if they were professional and perennial itinerants in search of farm work, assuming that, once in the migrant stream, an individual or family does not have much of a chance to leave it. Fragmentary evidence indicates that there is a relatively high rate of "settling out" from the migrant stream which goes unrecognized because the population of migrants is being continually replenished. This is thought to be true in the five Southwestern states with a high percentage of Mexican-American residents and migrants. Nava (1968) suggested that a good percentage of the residents in these states had, at one point or another, been employed, in one way or another, in agriculture, many as migrant agricultural workers. As the opportunities to leave agricultural work or to "settle out" presented themselves, people did so.

One of the many misconceptions about migrant farmworkers is that they prefer the life of agriculture and migrancy that they lead. The evidence seems to indicate that, while some prefer the former, few prefer the latter. Coles (1970, 1971) and Gutierrez and Lujan (1973) reported that the black and Mexican-American samples of migrants that they studied verbalized a desire to leave the migrant stream. Fifty percent of the migrants interviewed by Gutierrez and Lujan indicated that they would settle out right there in Kansas, where they were at the time, if employment were available.

It appears reasonable to assume that there has been a high rate of "settling out" by migrants, on an individual family basis. This assumption is based on the decreasing numbers of white migrants and black migrants and, the number of identified ex-migrants among Mexican-Americans. However, the migrant stream is continually being replenished by new immigrant arrivals from Mexico.

Unfortunately, not a great deal is known about "settled out" migrants because in the past they have not been identified, helped, or followed by any official agencies. Only recently have some funds been appropriated to help families "settle out," and to provide services to formerly migrant children, under ESEA Title I, for up to 5 years.

Trying to encourage and aid families to leave the migrant stream appears to be an increasing government interest. A 1972 U.S. Department of Labor publication discussed the problems inherent in trying to help migrants "settle out," and reported that "This is a field in which there is very little professional expertise, since earlier generations of migrants attempted to settle out on their own" (p. 9). A description of a Manpower Administration-funded Experimental and Demonstration (E and D) project conducted by the Rural Manpower Service to encourage migrants to settle out was given in this publication.

Manpower advisory and supportive services were provided to about 750 Mexican-American families in the years 1969 and 1970 in an attempt to have them settle out in "target" areas in nine northern states, where they were to work in agricultural labor during the summer, and then remain. Agencies from several states that were involved in the program indicated that although the migrants expressed interest, they were very fearful. The Texas agency reported:

The migrant's attitude toward nonfarm work is typified by a lack of faith in his ability to survive in it. Lacking in education and English speaking ability, and being well aware of the low pay he could receive, he cannot realize himself as being successful in the nonfarm world of work. (p. 13)

The U.S.D.L. report concluded that "migratory farmwork is more than a job. It is a way of life. Taking a job means the worker must change his whole way of living" (p. 15).

Older members of migrant families tended to react with "fear and apprehension" to discussions of settling out and seemed eager to delay it. The majority of those that were ready to settle out wished to do so in Texas, which they used as home base.

A reported 112 families of the 750 in the project settled out in the nine Northern target states. These families were considered to be somewhat "atypical" of the migrant population in that:

- (1) family size tended to be smaller
- (2) children in the family tended to be young, of preschool or early elementary age
- (3) the heads of the household tended to be younger

- (4) heads of households often were English-speaking
- (5) most had enough vocational experience to be placed on a job

Personnel involved in the project seemed to feel that those families which decided to "settle out" were more oriented towards the American culture, as represented by the North of the country, and thus less threatened by leaving the security of their cultural milieu in Texas (p. 15).

This USDL report may give an indication of the type of migrant who is more likely to leave the stream. Again, this is not an area which has been well explored.

A few bits and pieces of information related to settled-out migrants have been reported, but they are just small pieces of a mosaic that badly needs to be completed. Financially, settled-out migrants are somewhat, but not greatly, better off than active migrants. Gutierrez and Lujan (1973) studied samples of Mexican-American migrants and settled-out migrants in Kansas. They found that although the former migrants fared "somewhat" better on all economic and educational measures they employed than did current migrants, both groups were well below the poverty level and suffered from irregular employment. The unemployment rate among active migrants, however, was triple that of the ex-migrants.

A complicated study, funded jointly by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity (1975), identified seven different groups that were or had been involved in agriculture. These groups were differentiated by the type of original contact with agriculture (i.e., migrant or nonmigrant), by the amount of time (if any) elapsed since last employed in agriculture, and by their level of skill. It was found that:

- (1) "The migrant group, in spite of poorer living conditions, higher unemployment among males and lower participation in the labor force, showed a greater ability to adjust and to manage its environment than did the residentially stable farmworker groups" (pp. 96-97).

- (2) An unexpectedly high percentage of property ownership existed among migrants (66%), which reflected, in all probability, the value placed on home ownership and family life by Mexican-Americans.
- (3) Interviewees who were settled-out migrants tended to become members of the more occupationally-stable groups in the sample, while interviewees who had been in farmwork but had not been migrants tended to be occupationally less stable.

These results tend to be suggestive but, intertwined as they are with factors of ethnicity and other variables, need to be further explored and documented.

Three other studies which compared current migrants with former migrants will be briefly discussed. The Executive Summary (1976) of a report of the educational needs of migrant children in Florida (D. A. Lewis Associates, 1976) compared migrant students with ex-migrant students in seven domains: background (SES), ability, gross motor, fine motor, achievement, self-concept, and social. In almost all of these areas, or domains, differences were found between the nonmigrant group and both groups of migrants (current and former). Formerly migrant students resembled the migrant students more than they did the nonmigrants on almost every measure. For example, it was reported that although current migrants exhibited greater deficiencies in background (SES) factors than did former migrants, former migrants still resembled current migrants more than they did nonmigrants.

No substantial differences were reported between the groups of migrant and formerly migrant students in the ability (nonverbal cognitive) domain, the self-concept domain (except for 16-year-old girls), and the achievement domain. The authors concluded, relative to the achievement domain, that

The findings indicate that former migrant students are in as much need relative to achievement factors as are current migrant students (p. 1-14).

The social domain, in which teachers rated the students, revealed an interesting discrepancy. Both the current and former migrant groups were rated below the nonmigrant groups but migrant students were rated as being "socially insecure" while the formerly migrant group was rated as being "behaviorally disruptive" and least popular.

A study conducted by Gecas (1973) reported that settled-out Mexican-American migrant children had a lower self-concept than did currently migrant children, as measured by the Twenty Statements Test. A higher percentage of migrant students than "settled out" students ascribed their identities to traditional sources such as the family, religion, work, and ethnicity.

Gecas believed that these differences were caused by the fact that migrant children more frequently identified with Mexican values, which may represent points of stability whereas settled-out migrant children were more interested in adopting American values. One explanation of this result is that the ex-migrant students were exhibiting true marginality as they left one culture behind (at least in part) and were in the process of trying to adjust to the dominant culture.

Brawner (1973) compared two groups of migrant Mexican-American children. A group of migrant children was compared to a group of Wisconsin long term (10 years) settled-out children on three educational dimensions: number of school years completed, degree of age-grade retardation, and the percentage of student dropouts. The two groups, according to the investigator, were comparable in that they had both originated from the same Texas towns and had similar cultural backgrounds. She reported, on the basis of the data from the structured questionnaires which she administered, that the settled-out children were more successful on all three of the variables. Brawner concluded that the settled-out environment provided better role models and greater motivation favorable to school completion. She attributed the differences between the two groups of migrants to "situational" rather than "cultural" factors. Brawner noted, however, that Mexican-Americans in Wisconsin still did not do as well, on the whole, as Anglo students did on these dimensions.

### III. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF MIGRANT PROGRAMS

The descriptions presented in the previous chapters indicate that migrant families and children have many unmet needs in education, health and social areas. Various programs at the Federal, State, and local levels have been established to alleviate these needs. In this discussion of some of the major noneducation and education programs for migrants, emphasis is placed upon programs for children, since these programs have the closest relationship to the ESEA Title I Migrant programs. State annual evaluation reports and applications for program grants cited in this Chapter and in Chapter IV are listed in Appendix A.

#### A. Description of Noneducation Programs for Migrants

The latest summary of these programs at the Federal level was published by GAO in 1973 in a report entitled, "Impact of Federal Programs to Improve the Living Conditions of Migrant and Other Seasonal Farmworkers." According to this report, the following noneducation Federal programs that include migrants (but are not necessarily limited to them) were funded during 1971:

- (1) Health Services funded by the Health Services and Mental Health Administration, HEW.

Functions: Assisted in establishing family service clinics and developed special health care projects.

- (2) Child-Care Activities funded by the Office of Child Development, HEW.

Functions: Provided child care and educational services to migrant preschoolers.

- (3) Assistance in Improving the Living Conditions of Migrants funded by Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers Branch, Office of Economic Opportunity.

Functions: Provided vocational and prevocational training, temporary housing, day care, and other similar types of migrant programs.



- (4) Assistance in Improving Job Opportunities funded by Rural Manpower Service, Department of Labor.

Functions: Grants to States to operate farm labor placement offices and experimental work projects.

- (5) Assistance in Acquiring Safe and Decent Housing funded by Farmers Home Administration, Department of Agriculture.

Functions: Provided grants and loans for building houses.

It appears that all of these agencies still have programs that serve migrants except OEO, which discontinued operations in 1974. However, a number of the OEO programs have been moved to other government agencies.

The Federal programs probably expend more funds for migrants' non-education needs than State and local programs combined, but it is impossible to determine the exact expenditures by these latter agencies from the sources reviewed. Many of the State annual evaluation reports list the agencies that provide noneducation programs to migrants, but they rarely describe the functions of or expenditures for these programs.

One of the most detailed descriptions of these types of programs is presented in the "Supportive Services Handbook" for Region V of the Florida Migratory Child Compensatory Program (1975). This book lists about 200 community service agencies in Broward, Dade, Glades, Lee, Hendry, and Monroe counties that provide assistance to migrant families. Although many of the programs are not specifically designed for migrants, they can use them if needed. Some examples of the Florida agencies that provide services are:

- (1) Broward County Emergency Medical Services Council
- (2) Broward County Health Department
- (3) Broward County Migrant Council
- (4) Community Action Migrant Program, Inc.
- (5) Florida Methodist Children's Home
- (6) Migrant Services Foundation, Inc.
- (7) Lee County Legal Aid Society, Inc.

The service agencies listed above are similar to those found in many State evaluation reports, and in directories such as those published by the Illinois Office of Education (1975), North Carolina State Advisory Committee on Services to Migrants (1975), and the Juarez Lincoln Center (1973, 1974). These reports and directories indicate a wide range of organizations providing health and social services to migrants at all age levels throughout the nation.

Various church organizations have also been actively involved in helping migrants for many years. For example, the North Carolina Council of Churches and the Michigan Migrant Ministry assisted in developing and managing day care and kindergarten programs during the 1960's. (These programs were listed in "Early Childhood Programs for Migrants: Alternatives for the States," 1972.) More recent church-sponsored programs have been described in "Serving Migrant Families" (North Carolina State Advisory Committee on Services to Migrants, 1975). These programs engage in volunteer work with migrant families, and donate items such as health kits, new toys for day care centers, clothing, and new shoes to children.

#### B. Analysis of State and National Migrant Education Programs Before the ESEA Title I Migrant Program was Enacted

Little information is available concerning migrant education programs prior to the migrant amendment to Public Law 89-10 passed in 1965. Masurofsky (1976) traced the history of migrant education programs before passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and its Title I Migrant Amendments. Social services and education for migrants were provided primarily by church groups, voluntary and professional organizations, and concerned citizens. In the 1930's, for example, programs servicing migrants were sponsored largely by religious organizations such as the National Friends Society, the National Council of Churches, and the Catholic Rural Life Conference. These church-based groups sponsored some local part-time summer schools and day care centers and attempted to educate the public to the conditions of life and the needs of migrants.

It was not until the 1940's that State and Federal agencies began to focus on migrants and their problems. The decades of the '40's and the '50's saw the establishment of a number of committees to study and investigate migrants problems and needs. In 1956, the President's Committee on Migratory Labor was established which, in turn, led a number of States to establish Governor's Committees on Migratory Labor; by 1956, thirty-five States had such committees. (Masurofsky, 1976).

Federal funding for the improvement of migrant conditions or to establish programs to service migrants or their children was not available until the early 1960's. The Migrant Health Act, providing funds for health care, was passed in 1962. In 1964, Title III-B of the Economic Opportunity Act provided assistance to migrant families in the form of day care centers, health and nutritional care, minimum standard housing, and vocational training. The 1966 Amendment to Public Law 89-10 is the only Federal program aimed specifically at providing special educational services for children of elementary and secondary school age. (Masurofsky, 1976).

A few States have presented brief histories of their migrant education programs in their annual evaluation reports. For example, Colorado (Colorado State Evaluation Report, 1972) initiated a State program in 1955 when funds were allocated to Wiggins, Colorado for a summer program. In 1961, this State passed the "Migrant Child Education Act" that appropriated funds to school districts to operate migrant education programs.

New York (State Evaluation Report, 1973) appropriated \$10,000 in 1956 to conduct two summer pilot projects for migrant children located in Albion and East Cutchogue. Since that time, numerous programs for migrant children have operated New York State. An earlier program occurred in Waupun, Wisconsin in 1950, but it was discontinued "... due to the many problems that arose for which no answers could be found at the time" (Wisconsin State Evaluation Report, 1975, p.1).

A report entitled, "Selected State Programs in Migrant Education" (USOE, 1963) described activities in migrant education up to about 1962. Based upon these descriptions, it appears that California, Colorado, New

ey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, and Pennsylvania had special programs migrant children. However, it is not clear whether these States the only ones with migrant programs or why they were included in and rs were excluded from the survey. Some interesting findings were:

- (1) Only one State (Colorado) had more than one full-time administrator for its migrant education program.
- (2) All of the States in this survey indicated the influx of migrant children during the regular school year caused overloading of classes.
- (3) The total summer school enrollment of the seven States listed above was 3,855 children. The latest available figures (from either the 1974 or 1975 State evaluation reports) for just three of these States, Colorado, Oregon, and Pennsylvania, show that the number of migrant children enrolled in summer programs was 4,983.

The introduction of the ESEA Title I Migrant program in 1966 alleviated of these problems, and produced significant increases in the number of and teachers specifically concerned with migrant children. The following section of this review describes the legislation, proposed guidelines, and national goals developed to meet the educational needs of migrant children.

### C. Legal History of Federal Program for Migrant Education

#### Background

Federal participation in compensatory education began on a substantial basis with the 1965 enactment of Public Law 89-10, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). Title I of that law provided for financial assistance to local education agencies for expansion and improvement of their programs to meet the special education needs of children from families with low incomes. Preschool programs were included in this provision. Section 212(a) called for the Presidential appointment of a National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children. Subsequent amendments of Title I of P. L. 89-10 provided for a national migrant education program.

## 2. Chronology

In subsequent sections, this report will cover briefly the substance and intent of the legislative and administrative events leading to the Migrant Education Program in 1976. For convenience, the chronology and effects of these events are listed:

- 1965: P.L. 89-10 established ESEA Title I
- 1966: P.L. 89-750 amended ESEA Title I and mandated the allocation of funds to States for compensatory education programs for migratory children of migratory agricultural workers. Provisions are made for interstate coordination and transmittal of pertinent information.
- 1968: P.L. 90-247 amended ESEA Title I to stipulate that a formerly migrant child may retain migrant status for a period not in excess of five years during which he resides in the area served by an agency carrying on a migrant program or project.
- 1974: P.L. 93-380 amended ESEA Title I and introduced a number of changes affecting migrant education programs, including these:
- (a) Migratory children of migratory fishermen were made eligible for participation and funding;
  - (b) Use of data from the Migrant Student Record Transfer System for the allocation of funds to States was made possible;
  - (c) Specific attention was directed to preschool programs;
  - (d) Formerly migrant children were made eligible for services (with lower priority than currently migrant children) and funding;
  - (e) Specific charges were set forth calling on the Commissioner of Education to develop standards and models for evaluation of migrant programs and projects.
- 1975: Proposed regulations to govern administration of ESEA Title I Migrant Education Programs were published.

### 3. Discussion

The passage of Public Law 89-750 in 1966 amended the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to provide for Federal funding of a Migrant Education Program. Section 103 (a)(b) of that law authorizes State education agencies to receive grant monies for establishing or improving programs for migratory children of migratory agricultural workers. P.L. 89-750 mandates that grant monies are to be used for programs and projects that meet the special education needs of migratory children of migratory agricultural workers. Provision is also made by that law for interstate coordination of migrant education projects and programs, including the transmittal of pertinent information with respect to the children's school records.

In 1968, the passage of P.L. 90-247 amended the Act to stipulate that a migratory child of a migratory agricultural worker may retain a migratory status for a period not in excess of five years, during which time he resides in an area served by an agency carrying on a migrant program or project. This provision for migrant children who have settled out allows them to continue receiving the special health and education services for five years.

Section 122 of P.L. 93-380 provides for the inclusion of migratory children of migratory fishermen in all migrant projects and programs. ESEA Title I is further amended by Section 122 of P.L. 93-380 to establish priority of a child who is currently migrant over a migratory child who has settled out in the previous five years and who currently resides in the area served by a State education agency. Section 122 of P.L. 93-380 permits the use of the Migrant Student Record Transfer System (MSRTS) to determine the number of migrant children for the purposes of allocating funds to States for migrant education programs.

Congress has also mandated the development of specific evaluation procedures for all ESEA Title I programs including migrant education programs. Section 151 of P.L. 93-380 requires the Commissioner of Education to "provide for independent evaluations which describe and measure the impact of programs and projects assisted under this title." This section

further requires the Commissioner to provide State education agencies with models for evaluations of all migrant education programs. As stated in Section 151(f):

The models developed by the Commissioner shall specify objective criteria which shall be utilized in the evaluation of all programs and shall outline the techniques (such as longitudinal studies of children involved in such programs) and methodology (such as the use of tests which yield comparable results) for producing data which are comparable on a statewide and nationwide basis.

The Commissioner is charged in Section 151 with the responsibility for developing a system for gathering and disseminating the results of evaluations, as well as the identification of exemplary programs and projects, and the dissemination of information concerning such programs and projects.

#### 4. Definitions

The proposed regulations to govern administration of migrant education that appeared in the July 8, 1975 Federal Register (Vol. 40, No. 131, p. 28624) provide definitions which clarify several aspects of the migrant education program:\*

1. "Agricultural activity" means any activity related to crop production, including but not limited to soil preparation and storage, curing, canning or freezing of cultivated crops. Activities on farms or ranches related to the production and processing of milk, poultry, livestock (for human consumption) and fish are also considered to be agricultural activities. Under the foregoing definition, cutting, transporting, and sawing of timber are not considered to be agricultural activities. Operations involved in forest nurseries and fish farms, however, are considered to be agricultural activities.

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\* These are proposed regulations and may still be undergoing revision. Therefore, the wording of definitions and the discussion in this section should be regarded as tentative.

2. "Currently migratory child" means a child who has moved with a parent or guardian within the past twelve months across a school district boundary or boundaries in order that a parent, guardian or member of his immediate family might secure temporary or seasonal employment in an agricultural or fishing activity. In those cases where the school district boundary coincides with a State boundary, "currently migratory child" means a child who has moved with a parent or guardian within the past twelve months across a school attendance area boundary or boundaries within the school district boundary in order that a parent, guardian or member of his immediate family might secure temporary or seasonal employment in an agricultural or fishing activity.
3. "Fishing activity" means any activity directly related to the raising and catching of fish and shellfish from streams, lakes, or oceans, and to the processing of such fish for initial distribution through commercial market channels.
4. "Formerly migratory child" means a child who, with the concurrence of his parents, is deemed to be a migratory child on the basis that he has been a currently migratory child as defined in this section but has ceased to be a currently migratory child within the last five years and currently resides in an area served by an agency carrying out a program or project under this part.
5. "Migratory agricultural workers" means those persons who have moved from one school district in a State to another in the same State or to one in another State for the purpose of finding temporary or seasonal employment in one or more agricultural activities as defined above.
6. "Migratory fishermen" means those workers who have moved out of a school district to another in the same State or to one in another State for the purpose of finding temporary or seasonal employment in one or more fishing activities as defined above.



An expanded statement of the migrant education program description is provided in Section 116d.31 of the proposed regulations. The introduction of this section emphasizes that the special educational needs of migratory children of migratory agricultural workers and migratory fishermen include needs which are:

a result of conditions produced by the children's current or former migrant status, such as disruption of educational continuity and cultural, linguistic, or occupational isolation.

Section 116d.33 clarifies the services which are to be provided by the State education agencies. Criteria for the approval of State education agency applications are clarified in Section 116d.39.

##### 5. National Goals

The Committee for National Evaluation of Migrant Education Programs formulated eleven national goals for the ESEA Title I Migrant Education Program. The State Migrant Coordinators adopted these goals in May 1971. These goals were published as listed below in National Migrant Program Guidelines. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C. December 1972.

##### Instructional Services

1. Provide the opportunity for each migrant child to improve communications skills necessary for varying situations.
2. Provide the migrant child with preschool and kindergarten experiences geared to his psychological and physiological development that will prepare him to function successfully.
3. Provide specially designed programs in the academic disciplines (Language Arts, Math, Social Studies, and other academic endeavors) that will increase the migrant child's capabilities to function at a level concomitant with his potential.
4. Provide specially designed activities which will increase the migrant child's social growth, positive self-concept, and group interaction skills.
5. Provide programs that will improve the academic skills, pre-vocational orientation, and vocational skill training for older migrant children.

6. Implement programs, utilizing every available Federal, State and local resource through coordinated funding, in order to improve mutual understanding and appreciation of cultural differences among children.

#### Supporting Services

7. Develop in each program a component of intrastate and interstate communications for exchange of student records, methods, concepts, and materials to assure that sequence and continuity will be an inherent part of the migrant child's total education program.
8. Develop communications involving the school, the community and its agencies, and the target group to insure coordination of all available resources for the benefit of migrant children.
9. Provide for the migrant child's physical and mental well-being by including dental, medical, nutritional, and psychological services.
10. Provide a program of home-school coordination which establishes relationships between the project staff and the clientele served in order to improve the effectiveness of migrant programs and the process of parental reinforcement of student effort.
11. Increase staff self-awareness of their personal biases and possible prejudices, and upgrade their skills for teaching migrant children by conducting inservice and preservice workshops.

Section 116d.36 of the proposed regulations (Federal Register, Vol. 40, No. 131, p. 28627) specifies the comparability requirement for agencies serving migrant and nonmigrant students. This requirement stipulates that migrant children must have access to State and local instructional, health, nutrition, and transportation services comparable to those ordinarily provided to nonmigrant children residing in the same attendance area.

#### D. Relationships Between ESEA Title I Migrant and Other Types of Compensatory Education Programs

The other major program that serves migrant students is the Title I LEA grant program. For example, Florida (State Evaluation Report, 1975)

includes migrant children who are about one grade level below the level expected for their chronological age in this program, and both the Title I Migrant and Title I regular programs share instructors and reading laboratories. In New Mexico (State Evaluation Report, 1975), regular Title I teachers help to train aides who work in the Title I Migrant Program, and migrant students participate in regular Title I.

In Arizona (State Evaluation Report, 1975), the following inter-relationships exist between these programs:

- (1) Regular Title I teachers assist in identifying the needs of migrant students and prescribing teaching strategies.
- (2) Migrant students have access to regular Title I reading materials.
- (3) Reading specialists in regular Title I give help to tutorial aides in the Title I Migrant program.
- (4) Instructional aides in regular Title I teach migrant children in grades two through four.

Most of the State evaluation reports included in this review describe inter-relations between these Title I sub-programs. However, these descriptions provided few details about whether there were any clear-cut differences in their academic provisions.

Head Start is another compensatory education program that serves some migrant children. According to the GAO report (1973) on migrant farmworkers, the Office of Child Development provided \$2.1 million to migrant children for Head Start and child care programs in fiscal year 1971. Other sources, such as "Early Childhood Programs for Migrants: Alternatives for the States" (1972) and the Florida State Evaluation Report (1975) also indicate that migrant children participate in Head Start programs. But the relationship between Title I migrant and these Head Start programs is not clearly specified by these sources.

Two other programs for migrant youth are the High School Equivalency Program (HEP) and the College Assistance Migrant Program (CAMP). Funded by the Department of Labor, both of these programs have been described in a

quarterly newsletter, "New Generation," (1975, pp. 1,4) published by the National Child Labor Committee. HEP provides assistance to migrant

"... youth, who have dropped out of school, with the skills necessary to pass the General Education Development Examination (GED) and obtain a high school diploma. The program's ultimate goal is to find these youths sustained, progressive employment by either placing them in jobs with upward mobility, or vocational training programs, or institutions of higher learning." ("New Generation," 1975, p. 4).

CAMP provides migrant college students with many types of assistance, such as tuition, tutoring, and counseling. Unfortunately, both of these programs have a limited enrollment; figures for the fiscal year 1975 showed that 469 students enrolled in CAMP and 2,548 enrolled in HEP.

The programs discussed in this section appear to enroll relatively few migrant children compared to the ESEA Title I Migrant program. Their fiscal allocations are also significantly lower.

The next chapter in this review presents a detailed description of the migrant education programs funded under ESEA Title I.

#### IV. CHARACTERISTICS OF ESEA TITLE I MIGRANT PROGRAMS

This Chapter describes and analyzes the characteristics of ESEA Title I migrant programs in terms of objectives, methods, and variables that appear to be related to successful program outcomes. They are representatives of educational approaches currently used in migrant programs. In order to identify important variables, this review concentrates upon: (a) the major types of programs, activities and services; (b) the educational characteristics of key staff members; and (c) SEA and LEA characteristics. In addition, this chapter provides information about policy-relevant variables and relationships for the nine program components identified in the Interstate Planning Report (1975) discussed below.

Information related to each section of this chapter was derived from State evaluation reports of ESEA Title I Migrant programs, LEA reports, SEA and LEA project applications, descriptions of research in migrant education or related areas, summaries of different types of migrant programs, and interviews and conversations with migrant program personnel at the local, State and national levels. The order in which different types of program components are discussed is based upon the Interstate Planning Report developed at the Sixth Annual Eastern Regional Workshop on Migrant Education (1975). This report describes the major objectives and activities of ESEA Title I migrant programs, activities, and services under the following headings:

1. Preschool level programs
2. Language arts programs
3. Mathematics programs
4. Bilingual education programs
5. Occupational training programs
6. Health care
7. Parental involvement
8. Enrichment activities
9. Supportive services

The Interstate Planning Report is used as a basis for discussing various programs and describing their objectives because it includes the most comprehensive plan for migrant education programs found in the literature reviewed.

#### A. Programs, Activities, and Services

##### 1. Preschool Level Programs (Ages 3-5)

The ESEA Title I amendments of August, 1974 (Public Law 93-380) state that preschool programs can be established for migrant children if such programs do not interfere with the development of programs at elementary and high school levels. A survey conducted by the National Center for Education Statistics (1976) indicates that 22,553 migrant preschoolers were served by Federally-aided programs during the 1972-73 school year. No breakdown was given by program, so that the total number of preschool children served in the ESEA Title I migrant program during that school year is not known.

Recent figures from State annual evaluation reports and State project applications indicate that the number of preschoolers served by Florida, Texas and California respectively was: 6,361 (1974-75), 7,382 (1974-75), and 7,285 (projection from 1975 fiscal year project application). The estimated number of preschoolers served by the receiving states during 1974-75 was 19,560. This figure is based upon an estimate taken from State evaluation reports and project applications for 41 States for the 1975 fiscal year (Appendix A).

##### a. Objectives and Activities

The need for preschool programs for migrant children has been summarized in terms of various health, nutritional, and environmental deficits in the Interstate Planning Report (Eastern Region Workshop on Migrant Education, 1975). Some of the specific deficits listed in this report are: lack of medical and dental care, inadequate nutrition, immature social development, language deficiencies, and limited environmental

experiences. The following objectives for reducing these problems in preschool programs are presented in a subsequent section of the report:

- 1) Provide health care examinations and treatment, and a nutritious diet
- 2) Develop learning activities to facilitate language development
- 3) Use learning experiences to develop a positive self-concept
- 4) Encourage perceptual-motor development by means of various physical activities and learning experiences
- 5) Encourage parental involvement in the program  
(Interstate Planning Report: Eastern Region Workshop on Migrant Education, 1975, pp. 2-3)

Although these objectives represent a comprehensive set of goals for migrant preschool programs, it should be noted that they are similar to previously-developed objectives for disadvantaged preschool children. For example, the noteworthy programs developed by Deutsch (1965-67) and Weikart (1967) used similar objectives to develop preschool programs for inner-city children.

The need to include these types of objectives in migrant education programs has been clearly described in the following statement from a report entitled, "Early Childhood Programs for Migrants" (Education Commission of the States, 1972),

Early childhood programs for migrants are increasingly becoming a key state concern for several reasons. Public awareness and unfavorable publicity are increasing. Recent findings concerning the developmental patterns of young children--that the first five or six years of life are crucial to an individual's development--apply as much or more to migrant youngsters as to any other group. As shifts in the economy reduce or eliminate their parents' employment, migrant children will be forced to find their way in an unfamiliar and technically complicated society. Unless they are helped to develop in sound health, emotional and intellectual patterns, they will require not only remedial educational programs but also high welfare and perhaps criminal detention expenditures. The drop-out

rate for migrants at the sixth grade and beyond is about twice that of the population as a whole. According to the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (Children at the Crossroad: 1970), 90 percent of all migrant children never finish high school, and their average education level is fourth or fifth grade. (p. 15)

The Florida ESEA Title I Migrant program (Florida State Annual Evaluation Report, 1975) represents a clear example of how the cognitive and social objectives (2, 3 and 4) presented in the Interstate Planning Report are used in a statewide preschool program for migrant children. More specific objectives for the Florida program are described in a manual, "A Handbook for Teachers of Three, Four and Five Year Old Migrant Children," published by the Florida Migratory Child Compensatory Program in 1975. One hundred and four objectives and related educational activities in the areas of communication skills, perceptual-motor development, academic readiness, and social development (self-concept and aesthetic appreciation) are presented. The handbook also indicates the age level at which specific objectives should be used in the program and criteria for successful completion of each objective. In order to attain the objectives listed in each educational area, the children attend classes for approximately six hours per day and the pupil teacher ratio is kept low; the maximum pupil-teacher/aide ratio for each level or combination of levels is 1 teacher and 2 aides per 15-20 children, depending on the age of the children. The major emphasis in this program is on oral language development; approximately 65% of Florida's preschool objectives are concerned with this area of instruction.

In order to determine whether other States concentrate upon similar areas of instruction at the preschool level, information about their programs was obtained from the State Annual reports for 1974 or 1975. Only thirteen States reported information about their preschool programs; most of the information



presented merely indicated the number of migrant children enrolled in preschool programs. Major instructional areas were not described. The instructional areas emphasized by these programs could not be determined by studying the types of tests administered at the preschool level, since these tests were usually not identified in the State reports.

It appears that the most reliable and comprehensive sources for identifying policy-relevant variables at the preschool level are the "Interstate Planning Report" (1975) and reports that describe the Florida preschool program (e.g., "A Handbook for Teachers of Three, Four and Five Year Old Migrant Children," 1975).

b. Policy-Relevant Variables for Preschool Level Programs

The following list of preschool education variables includes some of the instructional methods that have been used to facilitate the cognitive and social development of migrant children. Most of these methods are used in the Florida preschool program, but others, such as the Frostig (1961) and Kephart (1971) perceptual-motor exercises, are found primarily in compensatory education programs for inner-city children.

The variables presented in this list are concerned only with cognitive and social development; subsequent sections of this Chapter will concentrate specifically on areas such as health care, parental involvement, and supportive services. It should be noted that various studies of compensatory education programs (Deutsch, 1967; Parker, 1972) indicate that these variables can affect program outcomes. The instructional variables in this and subsequent lists refer to educational methods and approaches designed to improve the academic performance of migrant children. The operational variables represent various procedures and personnel related to implementing these instructional methods.

### Instructional Variables

Type of:

- 1) Oral Language Instruction (systematic oral language exercises, English-as-a-Second Language, instruction in speaking both English and Spanish)
- 2) Academic Readiness Exercises (symbol identification and classification exercises, instruction in the use of Basic Verbal Concepts, Exercises Designed to Increase Attention Span)
- 3) Perceptual-Motor Training (structured methods such as those developed by Frostig and Kephart, systematic use of training materials developed by the SEA or LEA)
- 4) Social Development Experiences (group activities designed to promote cooperation and empathy, aesthetic appreciation exercises, exercises designed to develop a positive self-concept)

### Operational Variables

- 1) Pupil-Teacher Ratio (tutor, small group, large group)
- 2) Amount of Classroom Time Devoted to each Instructional Area
- 3) Personnel Involved in Instructional Groups (number, types, and functions)

#### Language Arts Programs (Elementary and Secondary Levels)

This area of instruction includes oral language, English-as-a-second Language, reading, and writing exercises. Most of the children in ESEA Title I Migrant programs appear to receive some type of language arts instruction. The total number of children receiving such services can only be estimated. The National Center for Education Statistics (1976) reported that 134,211 migrant children received reading instruction at the elementary and secondary levels in federally-aided programs. Most of these children were probably enrolled in the Title I Migrant program, since it is the largest Federal educational effort for migrant children.

The major educational emphasis with migrant children is on developing oral language and reading skills (e.g., the Florida and Texas evaluation

reports for 1975, and California project application for 1974-75 emphasize these two areas). Most of the State annual evaluation reports reviewed by RTI (Appendix A) indicate that the regular school-year language arts components in the ESEA Title I Migrant program supplement classroom instruction by using either a "pull-out" approach, or small group instruction within the regular classroom. Summer school programs have more varied scheduling practices, and it is not clear whether the "pull-out" or some other approach is used most frequently. However, preliminary site visit data provided in in-house reports for a study in progress (Research Triangle Institute, 1976) indicate that small group and individualized instruction procedures are widely used. Some examples of the different types of summer school scheduling approaches are:

- a. The ESEA Title I Migrant program is completely separated from the nonmigrant programs (Idaho, 1975; Maryland, 1974).
- b. The regular ESEA Title I and Title I Migrant programs have integrated morning sessions in language arts (primarily English-as-a-Second Language). The programs operate separately in the afternoons (Iowa, 1975).
- c. Teacher aides provide individualized instruction within regular classroom (Minnesota, 1975).
- d. Migrant children spend half of the day in the regular classrooms and the remainder of their time in separate classrooms (Illinois, 1974).

Although language arts instruction is the most heavily-emphasized component of the ESEA Title I Migrant program, the descriptions of particular oral language, reading, and ESL programs presented in the State reports and in other sources such as LEA reports are usually not detailed. A dissemination form developed by USOE (RFP 76-1, Appendix B, p. 119) presents a specific format for information has been developed. The format covers four areas:

- a. Goals and objectives
- b. Context (community, school, student characteristics)
- c. Program description (grade level[s], years of operation, size, curricula, materials, staffing, facilities, time involved, parental involvement, preservice/in-service training, etc.)
- d. Costs (total, per pupil, or expressed in other terms, initial implementation, ongoing maintenance, etc.)

his type of format would be useful in describing all of the program components included in the State and LEA reports. Since most of the information listed above has not been presented in these reports, it is difficult to determine the objectives and activities of the majority of language arts programs. The following section of this review, which discusses only the programs or projects that have been clearly described in LEA and SEA reports, may, as a consequence, be a biased description of this area of instruction.

a. Objectives and Activities

Language arts instruction for migrant children is related to two major objectives:

- 1) Migrant children who receive supplementary oral language instruction will evidence improvement in their ability to speak English at a rate equal to that of their nonmigrant classmates.
- 2) Migrant children who receive supplementary reading instruction will evidence improvement in their ability to read English at a rate equal to that of their nonmigrant classmates. (California ESEA Title I Migrant Application, 1975 fiscal year, p. 9)

These objectives are usually implemented through locally-developed programs that use tutorial sessions with one pupil, or small group instruction. For example, the State Evaluation Report for New Mexico (1975) indicates that every district had its own unique language arts program which used methods such as the Language Experience Approach, Distar Language Program, Home Tutorial Program, and the New Century Reading Laboratory. The Oregon (State Evaluation Report, 1974) program for the language arts indicates that, with local autonomy, a variety of instructional methods was used to teach reading and oral language skills.

Both Florida (1975) and New York (1974) have statewide curricula for migrant children in language arts that are used by each participating LEA in these states. The Language Arts

Tutorial Program in Florida concentrates upon two areas of instruction at the elementary level during the regular school year: oral language development (with English as a second language as a second built-in component) and reading. Fourth- and fifth-grade children who are at least two years behind in reading or who have serious oral language deficiencies are taken out of their regular classrooms for special instructional sessions of about 55 minutes per day. These sessions have a pupil-teacher ratio of about 1 to 3. The teachers follow a specific set of objectives, and assessment of these objectives is made with the Silvaroli Oral Language Assessment, Criterion Reading Assessment, and Oral Language Evaluation Test. Also, various norm-referenced tests, such as the Stanford Reading Test, are used to measure achievement levels (Florida State Annual Report, 1975; New York State Annual Report, 1974).

The "Tutorial Outreach Program" in New York State (Project application for 1974-75) provides migrant children with one-to-one learning sessions that usually occur during the Fall, Spring, or Summer (for three months or less). Each tutor assesses the instructional needs of each migrant child, and designs a program of instruction fitted to these specific needs. In addition, all lessons follow specific behavioral objectives coordinated with regular classroom instruction. The tutors operate out of nine State University Colleges and Educational Services Centers located in different parts of the State.

b. Policy-Relevant Variables for Language Arts Programs

These variables are derived from the study of State reports and project applications, and selected literature, such as the California Master Plan for Migrant Education (1974). They represent the major types of variables that seem to be related to comprehensive and effective language arts programs.

## Instructional Variables

Type of:

- 1) Oral Language Instruction (systematic oral language exercises, English-as-a-Second Language, instruction in speaking both English and Spanish)
- 2) Reading Instruction (content, materials and methods)
  - a) relevancy of each category to migrant children
  - b) appropriateness of content to achievement levels of individual or group
  - c) presence of multi-level (nongraded) materials
  - d) presence of adequate and appropriate supplementary materials
  - e) use of standardized, graded textbooks
  - f) use of other standardized, graded materials
  - g) use of other special types of materials
    - (1) individualized materials (children can progress at their own rates) such as
      - (a) special reading laboratories
      - (b) instructional packages
      - (c) programmed learning, etc. (sequential or branched)
    - (2) teacher-made materials
    - (3) peer-made materials
  - h) special arrangements, such as learning centers, media centers, etc.
  - i) types of techniques used
    - (1) structured/unstructured (discovery, etc.)
    - (2) from known → unknown
    - (3) drill
    - (4) diagnostic - pre-posttest design
    - (5) seatwork
    - (6) concrete, manipulative, tactile materials
    - (7) representational or symbolic materials
    - (8) audiovisual and other media aids

- (9) library
- (10) discussion and other language activities (e.g., drama, riddles, etc.)
- (11) creative materials
- (12) imaginative use of materials
- j) organization of learning tasks
  - (1) size of task (small, masterable steps; larger units to total task, or total task)
  - (2) is success built into tasks? With repetition?
  - (3) is success reinforced? How? (verbal, token, etc.)
- k) organization of material (i.e., sequential, by textbook chapter organization, thematic - as in projects, etc.)
- l) how special problems are dealt with
- 3) Preservice and Inservice Training (Information given about needs of migrant children for language arts instruction; teaching techniques and curricula described)

#### Operational Variables

- a) Pupil-Teacher Ratio (tutor, small group, large group)
- b) Amount of Instructional Time
- c) Organization of the Program (pull-out, within-class, etc.)
- d) Grade Levels of the Students
- e) Personnel Involved in Instructional Groups (number, types, and functions)
- f) Teacher Role (traditional, team teaching, teacher and aides, etc.)
- g) Classroom
  - (1) open or traditional
  - (2) graded or nongraded
- h) Procedures for Evaluating and Reporting Student Progress (e.g. letter-grades, conferences, progress reports, checklists, etc.)

- i) Interstate Communication for Promoting Continuity in Language Arts Education
- j) Classroom Atmosphere
  - (1) supportive, reinforcing, stimulating, creative, innovative (descriptive checklist)
  - (2) structured - unstructured (flexible or chaotic)
  - (3) students' role: active, passive
  - (4) amount of time spent in disciplining, giving instructions, etc.

### 3. Mathematics Programs (Elementary and Secondary Levels)

Although the NCES (1976) survey of 942 LEAs receiving Federal education funds indicates that 100,854 migrant children were enrolled in natural science/mathematics activities at the elementary and secondary levels operated by Federally-aided programs, it is not clear how many of these children received mathematics instruction in ESEA Title I Migrant programs as no breakdown by program was given. Most of the State reports listed in Appendix A do not present data for the number of migrant children who participated in mathematics programs; Appendix B lists the available figures in this area of instruction by States. Some examples are as follows: California estimated that the number of migrant children expected to receive mathematics instruction during fiscal year 1975 as 30,000, while the Texas annual evaluation report for fiscal year 1975 indicates that 7,375 children received mathematics instruction. Some other States that have relatively large numbers of children in mathematics programs are Ohio (5,424) and North Carolina (7,000; projection from FY 75 Project Application).

#### a. Objectives and Activities

Only a few of the State reports contain descriptions of their mathematics programs. Illustrations of the programs of two States are given in the following examples. In Alabama (1975):

Two of the LEA's conducting ESEA Title I migrant programs in the regular session will restrict most of their academic program to math. This is being done to eliminate supplanting of Title I. These are Alabama home-based children for whom communication is not a problem. A low pupil-teacher



ratio will be employed with the program geared to meet the identified needs of the children. In most cases instruction in modern math will be given.

In the summer the bilingual approach will be employed.

In both programs remedial work in mathematics will be implemented. The younger children will begin the study of math with flash cards, number games and other such teaching aids. Teachers will demonstrate the role of math in every day living by devising realistic problems from the students' own experiences and needs.

Tutorial service and drill work will be provided by aides, some will be bilingual if required.

A wide variety of materials and equipment are available to stimulate and hold children's interest in mathematics. (Alabama Annual Evaluation Report, 1975, Part IV)

In South Carolina (1975):

The Individualized Mathematics System (IMS) is used for students who are functioning beyond the readiness level. IMS consists of approximately 400 skills and concepts that are written in behavioral terms. Color coded laminated skill folders which contain laminated work pages and suggested activities are available for each skill. A management system and assessment instruments for individualizing an instructional program are an integral part of the program. Seminars and manipulative devices, along with other resources, are used to enhance student learning of mathematical concepts and skills. (South Carolina Annual Evaluation Report, 1975, p. 8)

Other States also present descriptive, but unfortunately incomplete, reports of their methodologies and outcomes. One such example of a different type of mathematics program for migrant children is described in the Arizona Annual Evaluation Report for 1975. Children in two districts were taught basic mathematics operations using hand calculators. This program occurred during summer school with children in grades 4 through 7. The evaluation report indicates these children made greater achievement gains than did a comparison group that received the usual classroom instruction. No test data were presented in this report, however.

Another example is found in the "Minimal Performance Objectives for Mathematics in Migrant Education" (Michigan State Department of Education, 1973); though this presents detailed objectives for grade K through 9, this manual does not describe how the objectives are related to specific educational needs of migrant children.

The objectives of mathematics programs for migrant children have been most clearly stated in the Interstate Planning Report (1975). The basic objectives for mathematics education that appear to be more closely related to the needs of migrant children are as follows:

- 1) Provide migrant children with the opportunities to improve their mathematical competencies through the use of manipulative materials and audio-visual aids.
- 2) Provide migrant children with the opportunities to learn mathematical survival skills.
- 3) Develop a math program based on individual needs.
- 4) Provide tutorial services for those migrant children with special needs in remedial mathematics.
- 5) Promote inservice activities to improve the teaching techniques and skills of teachers of mathematics.
- 6) Promote interstate communication, cooperation, and program continuity in mathematics for migrant children.
- 7) Allow the children to progress at a rate commensurate with their individual abilities, needs, and developmental readiness stages (pp. 12-13).

The Interstate Planning Report recommends that these objectives should be used in conjunction with a "skill levels" curriculum. Each migrant child would receive criterion-referenced or skill-referenced tests to determine whether he has mastered particular skills, and individual progress would be recorded on the MSRTS. Such a mathematics curriculum must be developed for national use in order to maintain a logical sequence of mathematics instruction when children move to various States. (A concerted effort in this direction is taking place under the aegis of the State Directors of migrant education.)

b. Policy-Relevant Variables for Mathematics Programs

The mathematics objectives listed in the Interstate Planning Report appear to provide enough relevant information for identifying the most important variables for this area of instruction. The list of instructional variables presented in the section on "Policy-Relevant Variables for Language Arts Programs" is also included here, because it is congruent with the mathematics instructional objectives described in the Interstate Planning Report.

Instructional Variables

Type c:

- 1) Mathematics Instruction (content, materials and methods)
  - a) relevancy of each category to migrant children
  - b) appropriateness of each to achievement levels of individual or group
  - c) presence of multi-level (nongraded) materials
  - d) presence of adequate and appropriate supplementary materials
  - e) use of standardized, graded textbooks
  - f) use of other standardized, graded materials
  - g) use of other special types of materials
    - (1) individualized materials (children can progress at their own rate) such as
      - (a) special mathematics laboratories
      - (b) instructional packages
      - (c) programmed learning, etc. (sequential or sequential and branched)
    - (2) teacher-made materials
    - (3) peer-made materials
    - (4) specially prepared materials for migrants
  - h) special arrangements, such as learning centers, media centers, etc.
  - i) types of techniques used
    - (1) structured/unstructured (discovery, etc.)

- (2) from known → unknown
- (3) drill
- (4) diagnostic - pre-posttest design
- (5) seatwork
- (6) concrete, manipulative, tactile material
- (7) representational or symbolic materials
- (8) audiovisual and other media aids
- (9) library
- (10) discussion and other mathematics activities  
(e.g., games, riddles, etc.)
- (11) creative materials
- (12) imaginative use of materials
- j) organization of learning tasks
  - (1) size of task (small, masterable steps; larger units to total task; or total task)
  - (2) is success built into tasks? With repetition?
  - (3) is success reinforced? How? (verbal, token, etc.)
- k) organization of material (i.e., sequential, by textbook chapter organization, thematic as in projects, etc.)
  - l) how special problems are dealt with
- 2) Preservice and Inservice Training (Information given in the sessions about needs of migrant children for mathematics instruction, teaching techniques, and curricula described)
  - a) Personnel involved (aides, classroom teachers, Title I migrant teachers)
  - b) Frequency of training
  - c) Time of each training session

### Operational Variables

- a) Pupil-Teacher Ratio (tutor, small group, large group)
- b) Amount of Instructional Time
- c) Organization of the Program (pull-out, within-class, etc.)
- d) Grade Levels of the Students
- e) Personnel Involved in Instructional Groups (number, types, and functions)
- f) Teacher Role (traditional, team teaching, teacher and aides, etc.)
- g) Classroom
  - (1) open or traditional
  - (2) graded or nongraded
- h) Procedures for Evaluating and Reporting Student Progress (e.g., letter-grades, conferences, progress reports, checklists, etc.)
- i) Interstate Communication for Promoting Continuity in Mathematics Education
- j) Classroom Atmosphere
  - (1) supportive, reinforcing, stimulating, creative, innovative (descriptive checklist)
  - (2) structured or unstructured (flexible or chaotic)
  - (3) students' role: active, passive
  - (4) amount of time spent in disciplining, giving instructions, etc.

#### 4. Bilingual Education Programs (Elementary and Secondary Levels)

Specific information about ESEA Title I Migrant programs related to bilingual instruction and the number of children being served is usually not presented in the State reports and is not available through other sources such as the ERIC system. A search of the 1974 and 1975 State evaluation reports listed in Appendix A indicates that eighteen States developed bilingual programs. However, the descriptions of these programs are too sketchy to determine how widespread they were within each State, and what their definition(s) might be.

One definition of an approach to bilingual education presented in a State report was:

Bilingual education is the use of two languages, one of which is English, as mediums of instruction in an organized program which encompasses part or all of the curriculum, and includes the study of history and culture associated with the mother tongue. (Oregon Annual Evaluation Report, 1974, p. xxiii)

a. Objectives and Activities of Bilingual Programs

The objectives listed in this section were derived from the Interstate Planning Report (1975). These objectives distinguish between bilingual education and English-as-a-Second-Language by indicating that the former approach includes instruction in both English and another language (usually Spanish). Consequently, ESL approaches will not be included in the objectives or variables for bilingual education programs, because they have been previously classified in this review as being a component of Oral Language Programs. The bilingual education objectives are:

- 1) Provide instruction in the native language for the totally non-English-speaking and the limited-English-speaking migrant students including, but not limited to, reading and math.
- 2) Provide instruction in English to improve competency in using this language in all subject matter areas.
- 3) Enrich migrant students' understanding of their ethnic heritage, and advance their self-concept by including their history and culture in the migrant program.
- 4) Instructors
  - a) Provide bilingual teachers and aides for non-English-speaking or limited-English-speaking students in the migrant program.
  - b) Provide inservice and preservice training for personnel participating in programs that have bilingual migrant students.
- 5) Provide adequate materials and supplies to those programs with bilingual migrant students. (p. 20)

The bilingual education programs in Montana (1975 State Evaluation Report) and Tennessee (1974 State Evaluation Report) illustrate how objectives number 1) and 2) have been implemented in these States. Both States used the Hoffman bilingual reading materials in English and Spanish, and Montana also provided bilingual instruction in math.

Because State reports are program summaries, specifics of programs are rarely given unless they are required. Thus, information such as how children are selected for a particular program, the amount of classroom time devoted to each language, where the instruction occurs, and how bilingual education is integrated with the total program is, for the most part, unreported. This ambiguity is also found in descriptions of bicultural activities (the third objective) given by various States. More detailed information could provide a better understanding of bilingual education for migrants.

In regard to the fourth objective, it appears that many States use bilingual teachers and aides, and provide inservice or preservice training for these individuals (e.g., Arizona, California, Florida, Iowa, Oregon, and Texas).

Information related to the fifth objective is usually not reported.

b. Policy-Relevant Variables for Bilingual Education Programs

It is difficult to develop a list of policy-relevant variables for this area of migrant education, because the information available about current bilingual education programs for migrant children is usually vague, and unrelated to descriptions of other programs such as language arts and mathematics.

Therefore, the following questions must be answered (through site visits, telephone conversations with SEA and LEA personnel, etc.) before more specific variables related to bilingual education in ESFA Title I migrant programs can be developed: (1) How much time is devoted to bilingual instruction, and to non-bilingual instruction given in the same program? (2) When can children move from bilingual to non-bilingual programs? (3) What are the major bilingual instructional methods used by the LEAs? (4) How much variation occurs within and between

States in the use of these methods? (5) To what degree is there instruction that includes students for whom English is the native language?

The list of variables presented below must be considered incomplete, because the migrant education literature does not answer these basic questions about bilingual education programs for migrant children.

The first three variables on this list are closely related to a review of second-language instruction and bilingual education by Engle (1975) who indicates that: (1) the order in which two languages are taught is an important variable, and (2) program characteristics such as the use of ethnic heritage lessons and bilingual teachers who are from the child's own ethnic group may have positive effects on children's language learning.

#### Instructional Variables

Type of:

- 1) Bilingual instruction (materials used, method of presentation, order in which native and second languages are introduced in instructional program)
- 2) Ethnic heritage experiences (instruction in history and culture of native language group, classroom discussions related to ethnic history, etc.)
- 3) Instructional personnel (teachers and aides are bilingual and may be from the students' own ethnic groups)
- 4) Inservice and preservice training (These sessions can cover the needs of certain migrant children for bilingual education; bilingual methods and curricula are described in these sessions)
  - a) Personnel involved (aides, classroom teachers, ESEA Title I migrant teachers)
  - b) Frequency of training
  - c) Time of each training session



### Operational Variables

- 1) Pupil-Teacher Ratio (tutor, small group, large group)
- 2) Amount of Instructional Time
- 3) Organization of the Program (pull-out, within-class, etc.)
- 4) Personnel Involved in Instructional Groups (number, types, and functions)
- 5) Grade Levels of the Students

### 5. Occupational Training Program (Elementary and Secondary Levels)

Programs in this area are concerned with providing migrant students with both career and vocational education opportunities. The need for such programs is based upon the assumption that public schools should offer migrant students the opportunity to develop work skills in areas such as automotive mechanics, electronics, and carpentry. This assumption is implemented by first offering career education programs to elementary school children (e.g., Alabama, 1975, and Massachusetts, 1974, Evaluation Reports), and giving secondary school students the opportunity to learn various types of vocational skills (Florida Evaluation Report, 1975).

A recent publication dealing with career education and work experience programs for migrant children (Guerra, 1976), which was prepared under contract for the National Institute of Education, identified programs in these areas related to occupational training as being inadequate. A large portion of young people between the ages of 14 and 20 who are in the migrant stream are not involved in programs of this type. The author states that "no migrant program currently in operation has a comprehensive career education program" as defined by professionals in the field of career education. (p. 38)

The author's position and his recommendation is that "career education and guidance should be one of the top priorities in migrant education today." This view is based on an analysis of the social and economic realities of the future prospects of migrant children and on a discussion of their personal and educational needs.

The author, Guerra, of the above mentioned report pointed out that career and vocational education are not the same. Career education represents a concept and an approach to occupational alternatives; vocational education is a part, albeit major, of career education.

Guerra also discussed the relationship of career and vocational education programs to work experience programs and pointed out that the short-term employment they provide generally do not provide long-term career development on jobs. Therefore, these programs--as currently structured-- provide little value for migrant children. He recommends that programs which combine education and work, with emphasis on career education in both aspects of the program, be developed. Examples of relatively successful programs cited in this publication are the High School Equivalency (HEP) and College Assistance Migrant Program (CAMP), sponsored by the Department of Labor, and the Learn and Earn program.

Figures available from NCES (1976) indicate that in fiscal year 1973 approximately 10,000 migrant children were involved in federally-aided occupational training programs at the elementary level, and about 5,000 migrant adolescents participated in these types of programs at the secondary level. The NCES report does not describe the types of programs offered at these educational levels, but the pattern reported by some States and RTI personnel from site visits, in which the elementary programs stress career education and secondary programs offer prevocational or vocational education, was--in all likelihood--the pattern followed.

The total number of children involved in ESEA Title I migrant career education programs cannot be determined from the State reports, since numerical breakdowns are not usually presented for this area of education. However, the figures contained in the State reports for the number of students involved in vocational education programs are more complete. A total of approximately 5,800 migrant students received vocational training during the 1975 fiscal year in the following eight States: Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, New York, North Carolina (estimate from 1975 project application), Ohio, South Carolina, and Texas.

a. Objectives and Activities

The objectives for career and vocational education presented in the Interstate Planning Report (1975) concentrate upon three areas designed to provide:

- 1) Opportunities for the migrant student to explore career options
- 2) Opportunities for the migrant student to acquire marketable skills in the career cluster of his choice
- 3) On-the-job work experiences (including stipends) for the migrant student (p. 23)

Career education programs in Alabama and Massachusetts illustrate how the first objective is implemented. As reported in the Alabama Evaluation Report for 1975, children in the Pike County career education program participated in the following activities:

- 1) Discussions of reasons for work
- 2) Interviewing individuals in different types of jobs
- 3) Making career choices
- 4) Visiting different types of work settings
- 5) Discussions of problems a new employee might have on the job

An example of a career education program for elementary school children is presented in the Massachusetts Evaluation Report (1974). This career education program, developed for all children who participated in the ESEA Title I Migrant program in the State, emphasized:

- 1) Development of children's self-concept
- 2) Learning good work habits
- 3) Studying about different types of jobs
- 4) Discussing the relationship between education, training and job success

The career programs described in the previous paragraphs provide migrant students with important information about job opportunities that they might not acquire from their families

and friends. A frequently-cited shortcoming of the program is that attractive vocational education programs at the secondary level are not available to migrant students. Such programs can motivate students to stay in school and learn a particular trade. The Florida "Learn and Earn" program is an example of one pre-vocational education program that has been cited repeatedly in the literature as appearing to be both attractive and effective in developing marketable work skills among migrant secondary level students. (Florida State Evaluation Report, 1975). The students can enroll in ten different courses during the school year in areas such as typing, hotel management, small engine repair, marine engine repair, auto tune-up, and hospital/patient care. A unique feature of this program is that students experience on-the-job training and are paid minimum wages for their work. The risk to employers is minimal because the ESEA Title I Migrant program gives them the funds to pay student wages. According to Mattera and Steel (1974), the "Learn and Earn" program is reducing the number of teenagers who work illegally in the fields, and the Florida Evaluation Report (1975) indicates that employers are particularly satisfied with their student workers.

b. Policy-Relevant Variables for Occupational Training Programs

The following variables are derived from the objectives presented in the Interstate Planning Report (1975), and descriptions of project activities contained in the State evaluation reports. This list of instructional variables is shorter than previous lists, because it involves a more restricted range of educational activities than occurs in preschool, reading, mathematics, and bilingual programs.

Instructional Variables

Type of:

- 1) Career education program (use of various materials developed specifically for the program, group discussions, field visits, role-playing exercises)

- 2) Prevocational or vocational education programs (opportunity for training in different areas, on-the-job training, cooperation of community members in providing jobs, work incentives provided)

#### Operational Variables

- 1) Pupil-Teacher Ratio (tutor, small group, large group)
- 2) Amount of Instructional Time
- 3) Personnel Involved in Instructional Groups (number, types, and functions)
- 4) Grade Levels of the Students

#### 6. Health Care Programs (K through Secondary Levels)

A survey conducted by the National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children (1971) showed that only about 35% of migrant children in regular and summer term sessions received routine physical and dental examinations. Unfortunately, even a smaller percentage of children (approximately 15%) obtained either medical or dental treatment. This survey was based on a sample of 183 projects chosen from 39 States in all parts of the nation; the total number of children included in these projects was 35,000 (regular term), and 20,000 (summer term).

A more recent survey of health services was conducted in 1973 by the Exotech Corporation in the following States: California, Florida, Texas, Colorado, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, and Washington. When a sample of ESEA Title I Migrant project directors in these States was asked, "Are migrant students usually given a physical examination upon enrollment in the project?", 65% in the Base States, and 70% in the Receiving States said "yes" (Exotech, 1974, Volume III, p. 59). These percentages are similar to those obtained by Exotech when they questioned a sample of migrant students in these ten States. Sixty-seven percent of these students indicated they received medical and/or dental services through the ESEA Title I Migrant programs. A comparison of the results obtained from the National Committee on the Education of

Migrant Children, and Exotech studies suggests that the frequency of health services increased from 1969 to 1973.\*

It is impossible to determine the total number of migrant children who received health services in the ESEA Title I Migrant programs during recent years from information contained in the State evaluation reports listed in Appendix A, since only ten of the 1974 and 1975 reports presented statewide figures for these services. Some examples of these data are:

- a. Florida provided health services to 16,611 migrant children during the 1975 fiscal year.
- b. Texas gave health and food services to 35,119 children during the 1975 fiscal year, (this figure was not broken down into health, both health and food, and food services).
- c. The California project application for fiscal year 1975 estimated that 55,000 migrant children would receive health care services.

The National Center for Education Statistics (1976) has presented what appear to be the only national-level figures for the number of migrant children who received health services during a specific school year. But these figures are reported by NCES for all federally-aided education programs offered in 1972-73. Thus, 142,634 migrant children received these services; this figure represents 62% of all of the children who participated in federally-aided programs. It is not possible to determine how many of these children were enrolled in the ESEA Title I migrant program, because other federally-aided programs, such as Head Start, Follow Through and regular Title I, can also offer health programs to migrant children, as do other HEW and Department of Labor programs. If MSRTS medical records are available for most children enrolled in the ESEA Title I Migrant program, then this information could provide comprehensive medical statistics related to this program.

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\* However, this conclusion should be treated in a tentative manner because of variations and problems related to sampling and data collection in these studies.

a. Objectives and Activities

Probably the most carefully-designed instructional approaches will not be successful unless the health needs of migrant children are properly assessed and treated. In this regard, Birch and Gussow (1970) have said:

Programs enthusiastically initiated as certain to solve the learning problems of disadvantaged children are now being soberly reassessed in the light of reports showing that they have failed to do so. Though it is possible to question the accuracy of some of the most critical evaluations of such programs as Headstart, even the most optimistic proponents of compensatory education are forced to admit that the programs to date have accomplished but a fraction of what they had set out to do. Unquestionably some of these failures can be attributed to limitations in design, to shortages of funds, to impatience for results, and to a lack of clarity in defining both curriculum and objectives. Yet what we have seen of the physical risks to which poor children are subjected has made us more than ever certain that even the best of such programs cannot hope to succeed in fully averting, for those children now most likely to fail, the negative consequences of generations of exposure to poor conditions for health and growth. (pp. 264-65)

The health objectives developed by the Eastern Region Workshop (1975) reflect the same types of concerns expressed by Birch and Gussow. These objectives are:

- 1) The program will provide for the identification of health problems in the migrant student within the first three weeks after enrollment by using standard health measurement criteria and MSRTS health data.
- 2) Program staff will provide for the follow-up and/or referral of health problems as identified through available medical resources.
- 3) Program staff will provide for dental follow-up and/or referral of dental problems as identified through available medical resources.
- 4) Program staff will provide for the treatment and/or referral of emergency health problems as they occur through utilization of existing resources.

- 5) Program staff will provide for the transmittal of health information through the utilization of the MSRTS immediately upon completion of services.
- 6) The program staff will provide for preventive services involving all migrant students, parents, and staff on a continuing basis utilizing all available resources.
- 7) Within three weeks prior to the beginning of the school term, health personnel using established local guidelines will conduct health in-service education programs for the migrant staff, and continuous in-service throughout the project year. (p. 32)

The California migrant education Region IV report for 1973-74 provides a comprehensive example of various types of health services provided to migrant children. The first objective of this program was to "screen, identify and remediate health problems." (California Region IV Migrant Education Program Report, 1974) In order to accomplish this objective, health clinics were held during the night and the school day, and interpreters were available in case problems of language translation arose. The second objective was concerned with encouraging parental involvement by carefully explaining children's health problems to parents and planning a course of action with the family. Objective number three concentrated on making school personnel more aware of children's health problems and on how these problems interact with the educational process. One of the unique features of this program was the health roundup clinics held during the evenings, because these clinics conducted intensive searches for children with serious health problems. Some examples of cases identified through these searches are: severe diabetes, heart conditions, and leukemia.

The typical method for presenting health information in the State reports is to list various categories of services and indicate how many children received these services. Thus, the Arkansas Evaluation Report for 1975 lists health service information based upon statistics obtained from the MSRTS, and the Alabama Evaluation (1975) and New Jersey Health Services (1975) reports simply present summary data from children's health forms.



Some of the State annual evaluation reports also contain thorough summaries of the types of health care provided to migrant children. The Mississippi report for 1975, for example, summarizes health services provided for the total number of migrant children who were: (1) screened; (2) in need of, but did not receive, treatment; (3) given treatment; (4) given complete physical examination; (5) provided with emergency medical treatment; (6) in need of, but did not receive, surgery; and (7) provided with surgery.

b. Policy-Relevant Variables Related to Health Care Programs

These variables represent some of the major characteristics of health care programs for migrant children as indicated by the Interstate Planning Report (1975) and State annual evaluation reports. Clearly, they should be included in the study of the ESEA Title I Migrant program to determine whether particular types of health care factors and educational treatments interact with each other to produce successful program results.

- 1) Procedures for Identifying Health Problems (screening methods and special approaches used, such as health roundups, mobile vans, etc.; number of children receiving physical examinations)
- 2) Treatment of Health Problems (type and frequency of health care provided--medical, dental and emergency treatment)
- 3) Prevention of Health Problems (type and frequency of health education information provided to migrant students parents and staff; type and frequency of preventive care, such as immunizations, vitamin supplements, nutritional guidance, and monitoring of health problems)
- 4) Inservice Training (type and frequency of inservice training on health problems of migrant children, individuals involved in this training)
- 5) MSRTS Medical Records (frequency of usage in terms of recording and extracting information)
- 6) Staff Members (number and types of full- and part-time personnel, i.e., health coordinators, nurses, doctors, and dentists)

## 7. Parental Involvement

The provisions for parental involvement were made in the ESEA Title I amendments of 1974 (PL 93-380). These amendments stated that parent advisory councils (PACs) should be established in each LEA receiving Title I funds, and that these PACs should contribute actively to the development of Title I educational programs. Clearly, it is difficult to establish PACs in Title I Migrant programs, because the parents are usually preoccupied with either their jobs or family matters. However, many LEAs (e.g., Florida, Georgia, Missouri, Montana, and Texas) promote parental involvement by hiring mothers as teacher aides in their ESEA Title I Migrant programs; these aides appear to provide an effective link between the school and the migrant child's home environment.

### a. Objectives and Activities

The objectives for parental involvement developed by the Eastern Regional Workshop on Migrant Education are:

- 1) The parent will help to better identify the unique needs of the migrant children.
- 2) The parent will participate in activities to improve the migrant child's self-concept.
- 3) The LEA will help to integrate the migrant family into the community.
- 4) The LEA will assist the migrant parent in improving the migrant child's level of performance.

The Texas "Handbook for a Parent-School-Community Involvement Program" (1974) clearly illustrates how this State implements these, and other related objectives. Twenty selected school districts in Texas participated in a 1973-74 pilot study that involved using this Handbook to develop comprehensive parental involvement activities. The Handbook presents a monthly schedule for various types of parent activities and explains the roles of the principal, teacher, community aide, neighborhood leaders, and school counselor in encouraging parental involvement. Some of the specific functions of PAC's are explained by describing model agenda for PAC meetings. Other sections of this Handbook cover topics such as parent-teacher conferences, basic education for parents, and community resources.

The Florida and Montana evaluation reports for 1975 also indicate these states have extensive programs for parents. One of the unique features of the Florida program is its emphasis on parent education. Thus, parents are encouraged to enroll in Adult Basic Education classes to learn to read and write English or acquire a high school equivalency diploma.

Another unique parent involvement approach is found at the Geneseo Migrant Center; the following statement shows the comprehensiveness of parent activities:

For many workers, the opportunity to participate in educational and recreational activities is a rare one. Thus, it is not uncommon for them to accept the program's open invitation to attend during the day whenever there is no work because of inclement weather or crop problems. On these particular days, workers get on the bus about 7:00 am along with the children and come to the college to participate in a smorgasbord of available activities. In the Child Development Center, pregnant mothers learn to feed and care for babies, while others are taught how to enrich the child's home environment. Planned parenthood instruction is also provided. Still others participate in shop, recreation, and cooking activities. At 6:00 pm, following a hearty supper, they return to the camps with the children. (Mattera and Steel, 1974, p. 53)

Most States do not provide detailed information in their annual State reports about programs that involve parents, so not a great deal is known about the type of or extent of parent participation. Reports of site visits (Research Triangle Institute, 1976) indicate that involvement of parents is difficult in most projects visited.

b. Policy-Relevant Variables Related to Parental Involvement Activi

- 1) Procedures for Involving Parents [use of recruiters who go out in the community, development of "Parent-School-Community Involvement Programs" (Texas Education Agency, 1974), formation of PACs]
- 2) Activities of Parent Involvement Groups (frequency of meetings, topics discussed, programs developed for or by parents)

- 3) Activities of Parents in the School (number who serve as teacher-aides and volunteers, responsibilities of these individuals, amount of time they work in the school)
- 4) Educational Activities for Parents (adult education courses, lectures on nutrition, child rearing, etc.)
- 5) Social and Cultural Activities for Parents (recreation, field trips, etc.)

## 8. Enrichment Activities

### a. Objectives and Activities

The schools' major objective in providing enrichment activities have been stated in this manner:

The migrant child will be provided a variety of enrichment activities in the fine arts, recreation, and survival skills. (Eastern Region Workshop on Migrant Education, 1975, p. 28)

Twenty-two different State evaluation reports (for 1974 and 1975) included some type of information about enrichment activities with most of these reports indicating that music and art were the primary types of enrichment activities. However, a few reports described other types of cultural enrichment activities. For example, the Colorado (1974 Evaluation Report) summer program for migrant children provided lessons in art, music, crafts, and cultural history. Field trips were made to the State Capitol, zoos, and museums, while physical education activities provided swimming and dance lessons.

### b. Policy-Relevant Variables Related to Enrichment Activities

These variables are based upon the enrichment components delineated by the Eastern Region Workshop on Migrant Education (1975, p. 26). Like the health service variables listed in the previous section, it appears that these enrichment variables are important because they may also interact with various instructional factors to produce successful programs. (In order to provide for the comparison of the enrichment activities of different programs all of the variables in this list should

be described in terms of: the types of activities, the frequency of meetings, and the instructional personnel involved.)

Provisions for:

- 1) Fine Arts Activities (music, art, drama, movement education, etc.)
- 2) Recreation Activities (life study, marine education, outdoor education)
- 3) Cultural Activities (history, anthropology, ethnic cooking)
- 4) Survival Skills (driver education, consumer education, etc.)

9. Supportive Services

This category is used to include all other services provided to migrant children as a part of either the ESEA Title I Migrant program or related community programs. Some examples of these services are: food, clothing, guidance/counseling, social and welfare services, procedures and personnel for identifying migrant children (including enrollment on the MSRTS), and housing.

Only twelve States (out of the twenty-four listed in Appendix A) reported figures for the number of children who received supportive services during either 1974 or 1975, but many of these services were not categorized. The most frequent category that was reported was food services. Food services of some type were provided to 8,093 children in Florida, North Carolina, Arkansas, South Carolina, and Delaware.

a. Objectives and Activities

The most specific objectives in this area were presented in the Interstate Planning Report (1975, pp. 37-48). However, these objectives were specified only for the roles of the MSRTS Specialist, Terminal Operator, MSRTS Coordinator, and Social Educator.\* It is difficult to develop objectives for the other types of supportive services because they are not clearly described in either the State reports or project applications.

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\* Not all States have this many positions allocated for MSRTS work. Data gathered from site visits show that some of the objectives and functions have been combined for more efficiency or for economic reasons.

### Objectives Related to MSRTS Services

- 1) The MSRTS Specialist will gather and disseminate student information and test results. This individual will also:  
(a) determine children's needs for clothing and health care, (b) visit camps to check on school attendance, and (c) keep school records.
- 2) The Terminal Operator will obtain background information on the migrant children and communicate new information to the MSRTS computer center in Little Rock, Arkansas.
- 3) The MSRTS Coordinator will develop an effective statewide system for using the information transmitted to and received from Little Rock, and provide inservice training on the effective utilization of this system.
- 4) The Social Educator will identify all eligible children, as well as compile and disseminate statistics on these children. Other activities include assessment of the needs of migrant children, and program information dissemination.

### Objectives Related to Other Supportive Services

- 5) Social and welfare services will be provided to eligible migrant children and their families. These services will include housing, clothing, and food stamps.
- 6) Counseling and psychological services will be given to migrant children and their families in accordance with their needs.
- 7) Nutritional services will be available for all migrant children (lunches and/or snacks).

The particular activities associated with the last three objectives are not clearly described in the State evaluation reports, and their funding sources are difficult to identify. Thus, it is unclear whether most of the social and welfare, counseling, and nutritional services were supported with ESEA Title I Migrant or other program funds.

Although there are serious informational gaps about these services, the following list presents four of the major types of variables for studying the treatment and interaction effects of supportive services.

b. Policy-Relevant Variables Related to Supportive Services

- 1) Use of MSRTS Personnel (role of MSRTS specialist, terminal operator, and MSRTS coordinator in the program)
- 2) Social and Welfare Services (use of social worker, type of assistance provided to migrants in locating these agencies, type of service provided, frequency of services)
- 3) Counseling and Psychological Services (use of social educator, type, frequency, where provided, funding source, family members involved)
- 4) Nutritional Services (type, frequency, where provided, funding source, family members involved)

B. Staff Characteristics

Information about demographic characteristics and attitudes of staff members is not available from the State reports or from other sources reviewed.<sup>1/</sup> However, various materials have been published that describe the need for more qualified staff members and illustrate some unusual methods of providing inservice training. Some of the descriptions of the needs and criticisms of teacher training methods will be discussed in this section. In addition, some noteworthy inservice training programs for teachers of migrant children will also be described and some responsibilities of various types of staff members will be delineated. This information will be used to construct a list of policy-relevant variables related to staff characteristics.

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<sup>1/</sup> Therefore, most of the topics listed under the "Analysis of Staff Characteristics" (IV-B) in the "Outline of the Scope of Information Being Sought" (RTI, 1976, p. 4) cannot be discussed in this review.

# 1. Criticisms of Staff Recruitment and Training Procedures

The National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children severely criticized recruitment and inservice training procedures in its book entitled Wednesday's Children (1971). According to NCEMC, one factor that hindered the hiring of qualified professionals was the late funding of the ESEA Title I Migrant programs. It is possible that this problem has been reduced within the last few years, but no more recent information about late funding problems was found in the literature reviewed.

Other factors that interfered with hiring qualified staff, according to the NCEMC report, were: lack of LEA leadership in developing criteria for staff selection; teacher shortages; and local school district prerogatives, such as hiring only teachers for summer migrant programs who had the greatest seniority. This report also noted that many projects lacked qualified bilingual education teachers, and several of them did not employ teachers or principals who were representative of the children's ethnic group.

In regard to inservice training, there was "wide variation" in the quality of inservice training and "...little evidence that inservice training programs were having an important impact on day-to-day classroom performance" (NCEMC, 1971, p. 43). The inservice training provided to teacher-aides was particularly in need of improvement, since NCEMC staff members reported that many aides were confused by the training sessions, and some were not effectively utilized by classroom teachers.

In 1973, NCEMC published "A Policy Statement on Staff Development for Migrant Education" which expressed serious concerns for improving staff selection and inservice training procedures:

There has been no national strategy nor national funding for staff development, and based on a review of staff development programs, national sample of classrooms, and testimonies from teachers, it is clear that the lack of national standards and the failure to earmark funds has seriously impeded the achievement of the intent of the migrant amendment.

Therefore, the preparation of staff working with migrant children must become the number one national priority in migrant education with its primary aims the inculcation of sensitivity to the migrant child's special needs and the belief in each child's potential to develop, as well as the development of the all important skills to facilitate the child's adaptation to a new learning environment. (p. 3)



This statement then listed ten specific objectives related to developing effective staff training programs. It is difficult to summarize these objectives because they covered many different areas of staff development. Some of the major problems they were concerned with were: (1) training teachers to improve children's self-concepts, and adjustment to new environments; (2) discussing attitudes about poor children and understanding the migrant subculture; and (3) teaching children about learning processes rather than simply giving them rote learning tasks.

The final section of this statement is concerned with "Policy Implementation", or the procedures for improving staff development methods. First, NCEMC emphasizes that USOE should take the initiative in improving staff development methods, particularly by encouraging States to use more ESEA Title I Migrant funds for this program area. Other important implementation procedures recommended by NCEMC are: the use of parents in setting standards for staff development programs, providing training at all staff levels, designing university courses on the "migrant farm worker and his children," and establishing a national leadership training institute on migrant education. Such an institute would disseminate the most effective curriculum materials for improving the quality of migrant education personnel. It should be noted that a similar type of institute (Kaplan, National State Leadership Training Institute for the Gifted and Talented, 1974) has been established for training educators of gifted children; this appears to have developed effective training techniques for both administrators and teachers.

## 2. Description of Staff Training Procedures

Although almost every State evaluation report included in this review (Appendix A) has a section on inservice training, the details of training procedures are rarely presented. However, other sources, such as handbooks, brochures, etc., sometimes present more complete descriptions of staff training procedures. For example, a brochure published by the California State Department of Education (1975) describes the operation of the Mini-Corps Training Program. In this program, college students from rural and migrant backgrounds act as teacher aides in migrant education programs. In preparation for teaching in summer programs

Mini-Corps members are given an intensive pre-service training program while living in migrant camps. (Benner and Reyes, cited in Schnur, 1970). After graduation, they can serve a one-year internship (under the supervision of a professor) in order to acquire classroom teaching experience, and teaching credentials. They live in the migrant children's communities so they can work directly in their homes and schools. Among the activities they are involved in are: assisting in managing day care centers, conducting recreation programs, teaching English classes to adults, and organizing educational programs in the migrant labor camps (California State Department of Education, 1975).

The New York State Center for Migrant Studies in Geneseo also provides a full-time training program for teachers of migrant children. Mattera (1969) indicated that the goals of this program are to:

- a. Produce understanding of migrant children's cultural, historical, and economic background.
- b. Develop understanding of migrant children's self-concept.
- c. Teach various techniques for promoting language development.
- d. Train student teachers to use effective skill development methods in reading, writing, and arithmetic.
- e. Sensitize student teachers to the needs of migrant children for various enrichment experiences.

The teachers in this program work closely with migrant children and their families in the summer. During this period, they develop a comprehensive program for all age levels from infancy to adulthood.

The teacher training programs in New York and California appear to fulfill some of the major objectives for staff development expressed by NCEMC (1973). Some examples of inservice training programs that seem to meet these objectives are in Arizona (Sixth Annual Migrant Child Teacher Institute, 1975) and Florida (State Evaluation Report, 1975). The Arizona program occurs during the summer months and concentrates on training teachers and aides to use various types of oral language, reading, and individualized instruction techniques. Teachers also travel to other States, such as Florida and Texas, to exchange ideas about migrant education.

IN THE FLORIDA program, each LEA is required to develop a master plan for inservice training. Statewide conferences occur during the school year to assist educators in developing effective instructional techniques for the Preschool, Language Arts Tutorials, and Learn and Earn programs.

Finally, a slightly different approach to inservice training occurs in the Oregon program (Oregon Evaluation Report, 1974). A Migrant Education Center has been established in this State to provide pre- and inservice training in six areas: (1) cultural awareness; (2) bilingual/bicultural education; (3) early childhood education; (4) program monitoring and evaluation; (5) use of the MSRTS; and (6) use of multimedia materials.

### 3. Policy-Relevant Variables for Staff Development

The following variables, based on the staff development objectives developed by NCEMC, and on descriptions of inservice programs, are presented in this section to emphasize the importance of studying staff characteristics and development procedures in migrant education programs.

#### a. Characteristics of Teachers and Project Directors

- 1) Training, abilities, etc.
  - (a) type of degree: major and minor fields
  - (b) related coursework, special seminars, programs, etc. (e.g., areas of compensatory education, sociology, child development, economics, anthropology, audio-visual instruction, etc.)
  - (c) related past jobs, experiences, etc.: type, number of years, location, position held
  - (d) preservice training (e.g., workshops, courses, human relations-oriented experiences, etc.)
  - (e) inservice training (continuing educational opportunities, conferences, etc.)
  - (f) fluency in language of, and knowledge about culture of, target populations
- 2) Role definitions
  - (a) functions
  - (b) role in program development, delivery, etc.
  - (c) interaction with migrants
  - (d) interaction with larger community

- 3) Attitudes
  - (a) towards migrants and migrant subculture
  - (b) personal (e.g., professional, sympathetic, etc.)
- 4) Degree of exposure to and experiences among migrants (e.g., lived among migrants, from migrant ranks, participation in Mini-Corps, etc.)
- 5) Knowledge of existing facilities, services, materials, etc.
- 6) Ability and willingness to use facilities, services, materials, etc.

b. Characteristics of Classroom Aides

- 1) Type (e.g., paid, volunteer, students, general community, Mini-Corps, student teachers, migrants, older students or adults, "big brothers", peers, etc.)
- 2) Training, abilities, etc. (see a-1)
- 3) Type and degree of supervision given by teacher(s); amount of freedom to use own initiative
- 4) Role definition
  - (a) functions
  - (b) role in program development, delivery, etc.
  - (c) interaction with migrants
  - (d) interaction with larger community
- 5) Specifically identified functions of aides
  - (a) supervising students
  - (b) assisting teacher in instruction
  - (c) clerical
  - (d) monitorial
- 6) Attitudes (see a-3)
- 7) Degree of exposure to and experiences among migrants (see a-4)

c. Characteristics of Special Personnel

- 1) Employment conditions
  - (a) full- or part-time
  - (b) temporary or permanent employees
  - (c) frequency of contact with students

- 2) Types of special personnel
  - (a) professional in areas not necessarily related to classroom instruction (e.g., nurses, doctors, recreation leaders, etc.).
  - (b) professional in areas related to instruction or aiding instructional objectives
    - (1) resource people
    - (2) special teachers (e.g., special education, reading, music, vocational-career, speech, etc.)
    - (3) school psychologist
    - (4) counselors
    - (5) school social worker
    - (6) others (e.g., consultants, media specialists, etc.)
  - (c) nonprofessional in areas related to instruction or aiding in instructional objectives
    - (1) tutors
    - (2) volunteers (e.g., for specific compensatory or enriching activities, extracurricular interest groups, etc.)
    - (3) others

d. Characteristics of Staff Training Programs

- 1) Full-time (university-sponsored programs)
  - (a) On campus (e.g., Geneseo program)
  - (b) Field-based (e.g., California Mini-Corps)
- 2) Part-time (preservice, inservice)
- 3) Amount and type of training in:
  - (a) Cultural and economic history of migrant farmworkers
  - (b) Special programs (bilingual education, ESL, tutorial reading, etc.)
  - (c) Evaluating the needs of migrant children
  - (d) Techniques for building a positive self-concept

### C. SEA and LEA Characteristics

A survey of the available 1975 State Project Applications and the State Annual Evaluation Reports, 1972-75, provided some explanation of the relationships between SEAs and LEAs. However, a lack of specificity in the methods employed in program implementation has been a problem in reviewing the materials. The extent of the SEA's "involvement" or "assistance" in project planning, development, and evaluation was frequently not explained. As a result, the decision below is based on limited evidence. The examples of State practices used in this review are for illustrative purposes, and should not be considered inclusive listings of such practices.

#### 1. Responsibilities and Relationships

Autonomy appears to be the most distinct characteristic of the LEA. The project director's primary responsibility is to provide the resources essential to the project. Ultimately, the director assumes responsibility for the operation of the project and provides the SEA with the required reports, records, and evaluations. It is the responsibility of the director to submit the project application to the SEA. In addition, his duties include supervision of the local needs assessment, the use of the MSRTS, program design, curriculum development, and staff inservice training. Promoting coordination among other agencies offering services to migrants and developing good relationships with the local community are also functions of the local director.

As the principal locus of responsibility for migrant programs, the SEA reviews, approves, and funds local projects. The SEA informs LEAs about Federal and State policies and procedures and sends representatives to national and regional meetings of State migrant coordinators. The SEA is responsible for developing the State plan of migrant education, including a statement of educational objectives. Additional responsibilities of the SEA include fiscal management of the State program, coordination between services of Federal, State, and local agencies, and the promotion of rapport between migrant projects and local communities.

One area in which SEAs actively participate is staff development. Most SEAs provide either pre- or inservice training for local administrators, teachers, and aides. States such as Washington, North Carolina, and Arkansas conduct statewide or regional workshops for LEA personnel. The Texas Education Agency, through contracts with institutions of higher education, conducts summer institutes to provide intensive professional training for personnel in the migrant program. Regional education service centers are also provided by the Texas Education Agency. Through area and district workshops and individual assistance, continuous inservice training to local staff is available. Other states, such as Michigan, assist the LEAs in conducting workshops.

Promoting interstate cooperation is another feature of SEA activities. Participation in national and regional conferences and workshops aids in the dissemination of information and in the communication of relevant issues among State migrant directors. One of the most extensive efforts is the Interstate Cooperation Project in which Texas and twenty other states (which are receiving states for Texas migrants) share information on the education of migrant children. One outgrowth of this has been the employment of Texas teachers to advise summer projects in other states. On a smaller scale, Arizona sent six teachers, one project director, and one SEA staff member to observe local projects in Florida, Michigan, and Minnesota, and to cooperate in personnel training and curriculum development.

Several states operate regional centers for migrant education. In Missouri, North Carolina, and Oregon such centers are responsible for disseminating curriculum materials. New Jersey, Illinois, and Colorado operate mobile units to distribute information about exemplary projects, to demonstrate instructional techniques, and to disseminate curriculum materials in LEAs. Texas has a rather comprehensive system of regional centers that assist school districts in program planning and in conducting staff development programs. Florida's migrant program engages in centralized

ing of its migrant program through its State and Regional offices. SEA responsibilities for migrant student identification and recruitment are different among the states. In New York, the Bureau of Migrant Education designs the recruitment policy and conducts a census-type survey of the migrant population. In North Carolina, recruitment is a coordinated effort of the SEA and the LEAs. Recruitment teams have been active in the past in Washington and New Jersey. Both States have teams of specially trained recruiters throughout the States to present the migrant education program to migrant parents, community groups, and local administrators and to identify and enroll migrant students. In New Jersey, the scope of the recruitment program extended beyond education to encompass the coordination of social services as well. Finally, in Massachusetts, the SEA conducts regional surveys to determine the location of migrants and to recruit migrant students.

Conducting assessments of the education, health, and social needs of migrants is usually the product of combined efforts of SEAs and LEAs, as in North Carolina. The manner in which the needs are assessed, however, are usually not specified in the grant applications or annual reports. In States such as New Mexico and Arkansas, the SEAs assume entire responsibility for needs assessment. The LEAs in Arizona determine the needs with the assistance of the SEA when necessary.

Program design, planning, and curriculum development are areas in which the SEA advises local projects and frequently offers technical assistance. Through the State, plans for migrant education, objectives and priorities are established. Numerous States offer special assistance and emphasis, especially in the area of language curriculum as in Illinois, which encourages the use of Spanish language materials. In Oregon, the Migrant Education Service Center, along with the State Department of

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The New Jersey program is currently undergoing reorganization and it is not known, at this time, if this procedure will be continued.



Education, developed a comprehensive bilingual program. The Office of Migrant Education in New Jersey supervises curriculum development, and places special emphasis on English-as-a-Second Language program. New York's Bureau of Migrant Education adapts and disseminates curriculum materials to the LEAs. As has been previously reported, States such as Idaho and Missouri merely indicated involvement in, or assistance to, program planning and curriculum development (SEA and LEA project applications and evaluation reports, 1972-75).

Local projects are monitored and evaluated by the SEAs. Monitoring is usually accomplished through site visits by SEA staff members or consultants. In addition, the LEAs may submit annual project evaluations to the SEAs.

The lack of uniformity, both among States and within a State, has been a problem in previous attempts to assess the impact of ESEA Title I Migrant education programs. In States such as Virginia, New Mexico, and Arizona, the LEAs conduct the annual evaluations, with the SEAs merely compiling the information. In contrast, the SEAs in New Jersey, Michigan, and Massachusetts develop the evaluation procedures and materials, including selection of instruments for measuring academic achievement. Arkansas is another State that uses uniform evaluation methods, but they are developed jointly by the SEA and LEAs.

In summary, the diversity of SEA/LEA relationships as evidenced in State evaluation reports creates a problem in describing and assessing the education programs for migrants. The planning and implementation of these education programs are too varied to establish one set of characteristics and specific activities.

## 2. Policy-Relevant Variables Related to SEA and LEA Characteristics

These variables are based upon studying project applications and State annual evaluation reports; in some cases, they were not taken directly from the description of SEA/LEA operations, etc., but were inferred from the information presented.

a. SEA Variables

- 1) Location
- 2) Special characteristics of region, area, etc. (i.e., relevant demographic information)
- 3) Organization and role of SEA
  - a) structure (i.e., hierarchical organization)
  - b) staffing: personnel, numbers, and functions
  - c) degree of autonomy allowed in decision making on part of LEAs
  - d) recruitment policies for staff and students
  - e) needs assessment procedures
  - f) guidance regarding program design, planning, and curriculum development
  - g) staff development
- 4) Philosophy of program
  - a) are migrants integrated into programs? do they have special programs? combinations? other?
  - b) are supplementary (compensatory and enriching) programs voluntary or mandatory?
  - c) how much choice given to students regarding special programs such as tutorials, electives, etc.?
  - d) who sets up programs?
    - (1) do project teachers, administrators, parents, etc. participate?
    - (2) what provisions made for communication (i.e., input, output, feedback)?
- 5) Financial considerations
  - a) does school district adjust or waive educational fees?
  - b) does school district provide for "take home" materials, equipment, and supplies?
- 6) Types of programs offered by district (e.g., summer, extended day, etc.)

- 7) Variety of programs offered: does school district (or project) provide extended programs (i.e., all day, evening, weekend services and activities, or combinations thereof)?
  - 8) Participation in State, regional, interstate, national programs
    - a) utilization of services
    - b) utilization of funds
    - c) exchange of information
    - d) sharing of personnel, materials, data, etc.
  - 9) Provision of special aid to schools
    - a) personnel, consultants, etc.
    - b) mobile units (e.g., library, vocational education, health, etc.)
    - c) central libraries (e.g., audiovisual, toy, etc.)
    - d) run model program or school
    - e) run workshops, seminars, etc.
    - f) other services
- b. LEA Variables
- 1) Location
  - 2) Special characteristics of region, area, etc. (i.e., relevant demographic information)
  - 3) Organization
    - a) structure (i.e., hierarchical organization)
    - b) staffing: numbers and functions
  - 4) General characteristics
    - a) school size, number of students, etc.
    - b) composition of students (i.e., percentage migrants, ethnicity/race, etc.)
    - c) grade span
    - d) teacher-pupil ratios (regular programs, special programs)
    - e) per-pupil expenditures (regular programs, special programs)

- 5) Types of programs offered (as appropriate)
  - a) preschool
    - (1) infant day care
    - (2) prekindergarten (ages 2 or 3 to 5 or 6)
      - (a) custodial programs (e.g., half- or full-day-care only)
      - (b) instructional (e.g., Head Start, etc.)
  - b) elementary
  - c) secondary
    - (1) provisions for education relevant to migrant life
    - (2) provision for counseling, identification of aptitudes, abilities, etc.
    - (3) programs to discourage dropping out of school and to encourage staying in and/or completing school (e.g., Learn-Earn program, employment of secondary school students as teacher aides and in other capacities within the school, etc.)
    - (4) provision for vocational training
    - (5) alternative programs (high school equivalency programs--HEP, etc.)
  - d) adult education programs
    - (1) type
    - (2) recruitment
    - (3) numbers involved
    - (4) program-related services
- 6) Recruitment of students
- 7) Recruitment of staff
  - a) standards for employment
  - b) identification and assessment of candidates
- 8) Evaluation of staff performance

## V. MIGRANT STUDENT RECORD TRANSFER SYSTEM

The final topic reviewed in this report is concerned with the most important information system developed for recording data on migrant students. The system is designed to be accurate and useful to LEAs and SEAs as well as to the student. Most of the studies included in this chapter evaluate the MSRTS in terms of these two factors.

Evaluation studies pertaining to the MSRTS are of various types, and appear to reach as many different conclusions as there are types. Evaluations have been performed by government agencies (USOE and GAO), by private agencies, and by individuals. Some studies have taken the MSRTS as their primary focus, others have touched upon the system only incidentally, as part of a larger study of migrant, or disadvantaged education. Most evaluations are rendered less pertinent because they looked at the original system of MSRTS-1, during its early operations. One would expect the number of users, the understanding of the system, and the application of the system to grow with time over the first several years. A revised system, MSRTS-2, implemented in 1973, was designed to alleviate some of the problems noted in the earlier studies. No coherent picture can be derived from a composite reading of these evaluation studies, and hence no overall conclusions can be reached using them.

Selected evaluation studies are discussed in the following two sections.

### A. Government Evaluation Studies

Validation studies are performed by Mr. George America, Program Officer for the MSRTS in the Bureau of School Systems, OE, on an ongoing basis. These validation studies consist of a selection of one, or a few schools in a State, extraction of a list from MSRTS of all students enrolled in the(se) schools during some period (usually a year), and comparison of the MSRTS list with enrollment data at the schools. Results of the comparisons are reported in brief, internal letters. While only

few of these letter reports exist (America, 1975), the results described are consistently excellent. In the majority of cases, there is a one-to-one correspondence between the MSRTS records and the school records. For those records found in one source, but not in the other, suppositions are put forward as to why each discrepancy exists. Usually these suppositions pertain to differences in operating procedures between the schools and the MSRTS. No documentation has been found to indicate that these suppositions were actually followed up for verification, but an official in the Office of Education has indicated that followups do occur. Occasionally duplicate records are found on the MSRTS data base.

A validation study of the MSRTS data base (Migrant Program Branch, OE, March 1974) was performed "to establish the accuracy of the data base." The report notes the Department of Labor statistics, and discusses reasons why their statistics may not reflect the true population of migrant children. In conducting the study, first a set of schools with a high probability of offering migrant education programs in October, 1973 was formed. From this set of schools a random sample was selected of 39 schools in 23 states. This school sample provided an expectation of 3,000 students based on the October 1972 figures. The affected State Directors of Migrant Education are responsible for conducting the survey of the designated schools in their States early in October 1973. Only the enrollment data (i.e., the existence of the student) was to be validated. Corresponding MSRTS data were extracted from the data base three months after the survey.

Comparison of the two sets of data showed excellent correspondence in some schools with severe discrepancies in others. In the most extreme case, one school had not submitted the enrollment data and therefore there were no matches. The survey was complicated by a change in the system of identifying schools; therefore, State personnel may in some cases not have surveyed the exact school intended. Allowances were made for students not found but not recorded as withdrawn in the MSRTS. One State reported data on only certain types of migrants, while other types of migrants had data in the MSRTS also. Once all the above allowances were made, the report concluded that the total student count using MSRTS data would have been

underestimated by less than one percent, an amount not statistically significant. The data were not sufficient to comment upon the accuracy of the allocation of student days (and hence of funds) among the States involved in the sample.

The report further concluded that there was no evidence to indicate deliberate insertion of fictitious school records, and no evidence of inaccuracy in the handling of data by the MSRTS. With additional comments on the difficulty of exactly matching student records, the report further concluded that there appeared to be a growing number of children with multiple records on the data base. The study results also clearly indicate that some States were much more conscientious than others in reporting timely and accurate data to the MSRTS.

The General Accounting Office evaluated the adequacy of the Migrant Student Record Transfer System as a basis for allocating migrant program funds (GAO, September 1975). Rather than being a primary study (i.e., one which collects and analyzes its own data), the GAO study relied on the OE validation study described in the preceding paragraph. The GAO report concludes that the MSRTS data provided a more reliable basis for allocating ESEA Title I migrant funds to the States than did Department of Labor statistics. However, it is noted that the accuracy of the MSRTS was not established because the examined validation study did not provide an adequate basis for assessing it. The report also observed that fiscal year 1975 funding was based solely on active migrant children of migrant agricultural workers; settled out migrants and children of migrant fishermen were excluded. GAO recommended that future funding be based on estimates of these students as well.

## B. Evaluations by Private Agencies and Individuals

A position paper on the MSRTS by the National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children (1974) deals with opinions and speculations, not of results of any particular study. The Committee raises concerns about the use and effectiveness of the MSRTS. For example, it notes that it is unwise to assume that the mere existence of the MSRTS either validates the MSRTS, or assures its usefulness as an educational tool. Further, the Committee raises questions relative to: (1) MSRTS detracting from the development of other needed programs, (2) cost-effectiveness of the MSRTS, (3) value of its information, (4) evidence of benefit, harm, or usefulness to both the child and the educational system, (5) violation of the right to privacy, and (6) parental evaluation of the input data. In an apparent reference to the Exotech study, the Committee notes that while the MSRTS has not worked technically, the majority of the schools in the system have found it useful, but a sizeable number of teachers in those same schools did not find it useful, or were reluctant to rely on another's assessment of their students.

One facet of the Exotech evaluation (1974) focused on the MSRTS. Administrators, principals, and teachers responded to questions concerning the system in a sample of schools in a sample of States. In all categories a majority of the personnel indicated they used the MSRTS for one or more reasons. The study concentrated on investigating why those who did not use the system, or were not pleased with it, felt the way they did, and how the system might be modified to make it even more useful. It is interesting to note that the closer the personnel were to the migrant child, the lower the percentage who used the MSRTS or who felt it to be useful. A major problem appeared to be the time delay involved in receiving data. While it is true that only a few days are usually required for turnaround between submission of data by a terminal operator and receipt of data records by a records clerk from the MSRTS, the transmission of data among the schools, the records clerks, and the terminal operators can sometimes be quite lengthy, particularly if the mails are used. Also, terminal operators may simply



delay in transmitting data received from the schools and clerks. Therefore, the excellent one-day turnaround provided by the MSRTS itself can easily be overshadowed by very slow transmission of data and transfer records in other stages.

The greatest number of recommendations made by the personnel interviewed was in the categories of more extensive information, more accurate information, and a different record format. (A different record format has since been implemented, and there are changes in the type and amount of data presented.)

There are, in some cases, distinct differences between base and receiving States in how the personnel perceived the quality, usefulness, and timeliness of the MSRTS and the uses to which they put the data.

A National Benefits Survey of the MSRTS was performed and reported by D. A. Lewis Associates, Inc. (January 1975). The purpose was to describe the degree and character of the system benefits and to determine those areas in which system improvements would increase benefits to students and program personnel. The sample of States and schools was not random; therefore, care must be taken in inferring the opinions and practices of all users from the opinions and practices stated by the sample respondents.

The report also notes that the MSRTS was undergoing a transition at the time of the survey. The data suggested that:

1. Nurses maintained a higher degree of familiarity with the system than other personnel, and over three-fourths of the nurses and teachers used the system to identify health handicaps.
2. Seventy percent of the base state administrators and 53% of the receiving state administrators use the MSRTS to identify and recruit migrant students.
3. MSRTS data are used to a lesser extent by administrators for program planning of class placement, and grouping of students.
4. Less than half the teachers are guided by MSRTS data with respect to special interests.
5. Half the teachers used MSRTS when selecting academic material, principally in the receiving States.

6. Delay in receiving data was the most frequently mentioned factor which caused the system not to be used.
7. The majority of those using the system felt it to be current, accurate, and complete.

summary, this study found the MSRTS to be a definite improvement over no item at all and the majority of responding administrators, teachers, and ses were using it.

A private study in the form of a doctoral dissertation (Veloz, 1973) undertaken to determine the degree to which public school districts with heavy migrant populations utilize the services of the MSRTS, and to the factors which may influence future use of MSRTS in five States with high agricultural migrant populations (Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas). A questionnaire was administered by mail to school districts in these States. The schools were divided, for analysis purposes, into three groups:

- I. Districts that have and use an MSRTS terminal,
- II. Districts that use but do not have a terminal, and
- III. Districts that neither have nor use a terminal.

Significant differences were noted with regard to high-medium-low MSRTS use in a chi-square analysis of the combined data of Groups I and II. As, districts that participated in the MSRTS for 3 or more years used it more frequently than districts participating between 1 and 3 years. However, the size of the school district was not found to be a factor influencing utilization. Significant differences were found among Groups I, II, and III with respect to degree of familiarity with the MSRTS, existence of written goals and objectives for meeting migrant children's educational needs, degree of achieving objectives, determination of responsibility for information on the migrant child, and district cost per pupil. In regard to the first three areas, more districts in Groups I and II than in Group III were familiar with the MSRTS, developed written goals and objectives, and indicated they achieved the specified objectives. Also, more personnel were responsible for migrant children in Groups I and II than in Group III, and the average per-pupil costs were lower in the first two groups in comparison to Group III.

### C. Overall Usefulness

The various studies related to the MSRTS are widely divergent in the purpose of each evaluation, the particular aspects of the MSRTS being examined, the perceptions of the various investigators, and the conclusions reached. No coherent picture can be drawn from these sources as to the accuracy, validity, and usefulness of the MSRTS data, and the overall system. Any attempt to draw such a composite picture is further hampered by the fact that most of the studies concern the early years of MSRTS development and operation, and thus may, in many cases, no longer adequately reflect the current system.

Nonetheless, the available information does indicate that migrant children are better served by the existence and use of the MSRTS than they were prior to the establishment of the system. At a minimum, the system focuses attention on the plight of the migrant child, as distinguished from the total group of disadvantaged students. The system provides potential for alleviating one of the serious problems that result directly from the child's migrancy, namely his lack of records and hence of continuous educational and health services. Finally, for every migrant child for whom even just one use has been made of his MSRTS data, one must assume, to that degree, the child has been better served through more accurate understanding of his educational history, his capabilities, and his medical needs.

## VI. CONCLUSIONS

This literature review has had dual purposes: to provide the research staff for the Study of the ESEA Title I Migrant Education Program with a thorough grounding in (and familiarity with) the literature touching on the education of migratory children; and to furnish theoretical and/or empirical bases for the definition and refinement of variables and parameters for the development of a study design.

The first purpose for this review has been well served. The staff, in increasing its familiarity with the literature, most of which must be described as nonscientific, has come to appreciate and to empathize with the combination of human warmth, and concern, and of fierce advocacy that characterizes much of the writing.

These same qualities contribute to one of the tasks related to the second purpose, the systematic accumulation and classification of information under several categories. From descriptions in the literature of the often miserable, lonely, and dehumanizing life of migrants, some of the characteristics of migrant children that make them different from their nonmigrant peers have emerged in a dramatic, if not always systematic, fashion.

While the literature review has been of some assistance in cataloging the characteristics of migrant children, it has been of much less assistance in producing similar catalogs of other domains of important variables for a study of the impact of migrant education, or in contributing to the establishment of important links between such domains. Such defects have been noted in the texts of most of the preceding chapters. Even so, the review has been informative and worthwhile.

While the characteristics of migrant culture and migrant children discussed in this review provide pertinent information about the needs of these children, annual State reports, taken as a group, fail to indicate that this information has been used to a maximum degree to design programs for remedying the learning and personality problems of migrant children. The educational programs reviewed in Chapter IV on ESEA Title I Migrant

programs do not clearly indicate how needs assessment information was used to shape programs; it is usually not clear why particular types of educational methods were used with specific groups of migrant children. This type of ambiguity leads to problems such as these related to understanding migrant education programs:

- (1) LEAs and SEAs usually do not present a rationale for selecting particular types of educational methods, and rejecting others.
- (2) It is difficult to understand why certain types of educational methods are used in compensatory education programs for migrant children.
- (3) As the result of (1) and (2) above, a generally disorganized situation exists concerning educational programs planned for migrant children. No clear criteria have been developed for determining whether a particular educational method is more suitable for migrant children than another method.

This confusing situation related to educational program development compounded by the fact that the literature on migrant education is generally descriptive rather than quantitative. Approximately half of the articles, reports, or books reviewed are statements of opinion, rather than reports of research on topics, such as the learning problems of migrant children, or systematic evaluations of special programs developed for these children. More detailed and controlled research is needed on the specific learning difficulties of migrant children before more effective migrant education programs can be developed.

Two other points became increasingly evident as the literature review progressed: first, the large majority of reports, proposals, etc., were not based on any theory; second, references to research in areas such as learning were rarely made. Proposals were drawn up and programs were instituted, for the most part, without any attempt to draw from, or to capitalize on the large body of information and knowledge that has been accrued about such areas as childhood socialization, perception, cognitive stimulus deprivation, reinforcement theory, and the like.

It was also noted by the reviewers that the role of ethnicity has been neglected by writers in the field. Migrants have been treated, for the most part, as a homogeneous group. Generalizations abound. It seems

logical--and the data that have been collected seem to support this thesis--that subgroup variations among migrants exist along racial and ethnic lines. In some cases one can infer from existing data that intergroup differences may be more important than differences between migrants and nonmigrants of the same group.

Mexican-American migrants and black migrants have different reference groups. In the United States the two groups are among the most disadvantaged, and the general literature documents significant differences in family structure and other important areas. Although they have some shared experiences due to their common migrant condition, they have different cultural referents. The Mexican-American migrant, for example, may have more in common with and be more like the nonmigrant, lower-socioeconomic-status, rural, or even urban, Mexican-American than the black migrant. These variations may prove to be significant for program planning and for program outcomes, as well as for an evaluation study.

Nevertheless, this literature review should serve as a starting point for additional work. In addition to furnishing a basis for other activities connected with the Study of the ESEA Title I Migrant Education Program, the review may also serve as a guide for program planners and other researchers who are concerned with the continuing severe problems associated with growing up a migrant.

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## **Appendix A**

### **State Annual Evaluation Reports and Applications for Program Grants Included in the Review**

## Annual Title I State Evaluation Reports

<u>State</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u>
Alabama	x	x	x	x
Alaska				
Arizona		x	x	x
Arkansas		x	x	x
California			x	
Colorado	x	x	x	
Connecticut		x	x	
Delaware		x	x	x
Florida	x	x	x	x
Georgia	x		x	x
Hawaii				
Idaho	x	x	x	x
Illinois		x	x	
Indiana	x		x	x
Iowa	x	x		x
Kansas	x	x	x	
Kentucky				
Louisiana	x	x	x	x
Maine		x		
Maryland		x	x	
Massachusetts		x	x	x
Michigan				
Minnesota	x		x	x
Mississippi	x	x	x	x
Missouri	x	x	x	x
Montana	x	x	x	x
Nebraska		x	x	
Nevada				
New Hampshire	x			
New Jersey	x			x
New Mexico	x	x	x	x
New York	x	x	x	
North Carolina	x	x	x	x
North Dakota	x		x	
Ohio	x	x	x	x
Oklahoma			x	x
Oregon	x	x	x	
Pennsylvania	x	x	x	
Rhode Island		x		
South Carolina	x	x	x	x
South Dakota	x			x
Tennessee	x	x	x	x
Texas	x	x	x	x
Utah		x	x	
Vermont		x	x	x
Virginia	x	x	x	x
Washington		x	x	
West Virginia				
Wisconsin	x	x	x	
Wyoming	x			



## Appendix B

### Number of Children Served by Different Programs

Applications for Program Grants,  
Migrant Program, ESEA, Title I, FY 1975

Alabama	New Jersey
Arizona	New Mexico
Arkansas	New York
California	North Carolina
Delaware	North Dakota
Florida	Oklahoma
Georgia	Oregon
Idaho	Pennsylvania
Illinois	Rhode Island
Indiana	South Carolina
Iowa	South Dakota
Kansas	Texas
Kentucky	Utah
Louisiana	Vermont
Massachusetts	Virginia
Michigan	Washington
Minnesota	West Virginia
Missouri	Wisconsin
Nebraska	Wyoming
Nevada	

NUMBER OF CHILDREN SERVED IN INSTRUCTIONAL ACTIVITIES  
AS REPORTED IN STATE ANNUAL EVALUATIONS (1974, 1975) OR GRANT APPLICATIONS (1975)

State	Oral Language				Other Cultural			Health/Physical	
	Reading	Bilingual	Arts	Mathematics	Arts	Enrichment	Subject Areas	Vocational Career	Education
Arkansas, 75	[1939 in Remedial Instruction not Specified]					825		238	
California, 75*	3,000	40,000		30,000			50,000		
Florida, 75			11,306					1,788	
Georgia, 75	912	190		569			633	210	
Illinois, 74	1,372	1,355		1,145		922	854	129	562
Minnesota, 75	1,975	1,953		1,954	3,997 <sup>a</sup>	1,791	2,872 <sup>a</sup>	1,062	2,025
Mississippi, 75 <sup>b</sup>	1,801		273	1,801	545				
Missouri, 75	872 <sup>c</sup>							123	
North Carolina, 75*			7,000	6,000		7,000	3,300	1,000	7,000
New York, 74	4,665 <sup>c</sup>			4,665 <sup>c</sup>				275 <sup>d</sup>	
Ohio, 75	2,021	4,688		5,424	5,249			1,131	5,492
South Carolina, 75	1,030			970	1,810 <sup>a</sup>		915	301	1,175
Texas, 75	14,393	9,677	7,375		4,205	31,017	918		

\* SOURCE: Grant Applications. All other figures are from Annual Evaluations.

a/ Duplicated count.

b/ Incomplete totals--figures were given for regular term only.

c/ Figure reported for those receiving instruction in "basic skills."

d/ Total number for vocational and handicapped instruction.

Appendix C

Outline of Literature Review Submitted  
to USOE on 18 March 1976

# NONINSTRUCTIONAL SUPPORT ACTIVITIES

State	Health	Food	Social Services Attendance	Guidance and Counseling	Welfare Services	Home/School Relationship	Identification and Enrollment	Other
Arkansas, 75		1,680		623		464		
California, 75*	55,000*	55,000*	43,000	40,000	55,000	55,000		
Florida, 75	16,611	536	2,127				4,894	704
Georgia, 75	1,717	1,297	1,297			501	914	
Illinois, 74	2,075 <sup>a</sup>							
Minnesota, 75	1,267	1,984	589					
Mississippi, 75 <sup>b</sup>	2,235		2,595					
Missouri, 75	353					8		
North Carolina, 75*	5,000*	4,000		1,000				7,000
New York, 74	2,389							
South Carolina, 75	1,202	1,493	2,188 <sup>a</sup>	620				
Texas, 75	35,119	35,119	18,639	11,635				

\* SOURCE: Grant Applications. All other figures are from Annual Evaluations.

<sup>a/</sup> Duplicate count.

<sup>b/</sup> Incomplete totals--figures were given for regular term only.

RESEARCH TRIANGLE INSTITUTE  
Center for Educational Research and Evaluation

Outline of Literature Review for Task 3  
Study of the ESEA Title I Migrant Program

18 March 1976

A. Description of the Types of Literature to be Reviewed

In performing Preliminary Task 3, RTI will review the literature on migrant children and educational programs designed for them. Such a review will provide information useful in studying both student and program characteristics (Tasks A.1 and A.2). This review will also identify policy-relevant variables for the impact study needed to develop the research design (Task A.4), construct questionnaires (Task A.8), and design a sampling plan (Task A.5). In order to accomplish these objectives, the following resources are currently being used by the RTI staff:

1. Materials received from the Migrant Program Branch in USOE
2. ERIC system documents (a computer search of this system was conducted using the following descriptors: migrants, migrant children, migrant youth, migrant problem, migrant education, and migrant child education)
3. ERIC Center in Rural Education at New Mexico State University (Telephone calls were made to this center to inquire about recent ERIC documents in migrant education.)
4. Psychological Abstracts
5. Research in Education
6. Migrant Education Center in Geneseo, New York (this center was visited in February in order to examine materials in the migrant education library and discuss important literature with Dr. Gloria Mattera)
7. Libraries at Duke University, the University of North Carolina, and North Carolina State University
8. Library at Research Triangle Institute

Some of the specific types of studies and reports obtained from USOE, the ERIC system, etc., and presently being reviewed are:

1. State Title I migrant evaluation reports
2. LEA descriptions and evaluations
3. Studies of the MSRTS
4. General descriptions of migrant programs
5. Reports on migrant education conferences
6. Evaluation studies of migrant programs
7. Descriptions of ESEA Title I legislation, and the legislation itself
8. Reports that describe the characteristics of migrant children and migrant culture
9. Psychological and sociological articles on migrant children and families
10. Books describing migrant work situations and cultures

B. Description and Outline of the Scope of Information Being Sought

The search for policy-relevant variables will be facilitated by first reviewing literature concerned with the characteristics of migrant culture and migrant children. Information derived from this part of the review will indicate various types of social and educational needs of migrant children. The review will then describe how these needs have been met by different types of noneducation and education programs, and will focus upon the characteristics of ESEA Title I migrant programs designed to fulfill specific educational, health, and nutritional needs. The next section of the review will examine efforts to evaluate the effects of migrant Title I programs and major problems in conducting these evaluations. In addition, studies that evaluate the MSRTS will be examined in terms of the topics listed in the last section of the outline. It should be noted that this review is concerned only with migrants and migrant education; the extensive literature related to compensatory education in general, as well as with privacy rights legislation and regulations, will not be included in this review, though it will be referred to as is needed during the course of the study.

Outline of the Scope of Information Being Sought

- I. Characteristics of Migrant Culture as Related to Childhood Socialization and Educational Achievement Levels
  - A. Family structure
    - 1. Average family size and number of persons in the household
    - 2. Effects of mobility patterns on stability of migrant families
  - B. Environmental factors in the home
    - 1. Household density
    - 2. Cultural contents of the home
  - C. SES levels
    - 1. Education levels
    - 2. Family income
  - D. Ethnic group status and values of migrant worker population
  - E. Health and dietary influences
- II. Characteristics of Migrant Children as Related to Educational Programs and Achievement Levels
  - A. Demographic characteristics
    - 1. Mobility patterns and effects of mobility upon educational continuity
    - 2. Percentage and location of various ethnic/linguistic subgroups
    - 3. Fluency in English
    - 4. Proportion of migrant children at the elementary and secondary levels
    - 5. Average age per grade
    - 6. Average achievement level per grade
    - 7. Student attrition and dropout rates
  - B. Psycho-social characteristics
    - 1. Effects of cultural and occupational isolation upon school performance and attitudes
    - 2. Similarities and differences between presently and formerly migrant children



III. General Description of Migrant Programs

- A. Description of noneducation programs for migrants
- B. Analysis of state and national migrant education programs before the Title I migrant program was enacted
- C. Legal background for Title I migrant program
  - 1. Brief history of Title I legislation
  - 2. Summary of enacting legislation
  - 3. Summary of regulations, guidelines, and program criteria
- D. Relationship between Title I migrant and other types of compensatory education programs

IV. Description of Variables and Hypotheses Related to Important Characteristics of Title I Migrant Programs

- A. Analysis of major types of instructional and program components in terms of objectives, organization, basic data about pupil-teacher ratio, etc., activities, instructional materials, and evaluation techniques in such components as:
  - 1. Preschool level programs
  - 2. Language arts instruction
  - 3. Mathematics instruction
  - 4. Bilingual instruction
  - 5. Occupational training
  - 6. Health care
  - 7. Parental involvement
  - 8. Enrichment activities
  - 9. Supportive services
- B. Analysis of staff characteristics
  - 1. Educational background and experience
  - 2. Demographic characteristics
  - 3. Staff responsibilities
  - 4. Organization of staff for programs
  - 5. Attitudes about migrant children and their families
  - 6. Personal characteristics, including ethnic and linguistic background

- C. Analysis of school and district characteristics
  - 1. Demographic and community features
  - 2. Organizational characteristics
  - 3. School resources
  - 4. State and district contextual factors
- V. Description of Problems of Evaluating Migrant and Related Compensatory Education Programs based upon the Exotech Report and Other National and Regional Studies
  - A. Identification of mobility patterns
  - B. Development of valid needs assessments and study designs
  - C. Analysis and selection of test instruments
  - D. Questionnaire development
- VI. Description of the MSRTS
  - A. Rationale for establishing and maintaining the MSRTS
    - 1. Tracking purposes
    - 2. Recording educational and health information
    - 3. Funding purposes
  - B. Evaluation studies of operation and accuracy
    - 1. Studies conducted by individuals and private agencies
    - 2. Studies conducted by USOE and GAO

## **Appendix D**

### **Description and Analysis of the Evaluation Conducted by Exotech Systems**

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE EVALUATION  
CONDUCTED BY EXOTECH SYSTEMS

The review in Chapter IV indicates that a variety of programs exist for migrant children. But how does an LEA or SEA determine which programs are most effective? Clearly, valid evaluation procedures, based upon the use of objective test instruments, must be used to answer this question. It was originally proposed in the "Outline of the Scope of Information Being Sought" that a section of this report would describe and analyze current evaluation procedures used in migrant and related types of programs. However, a detailed review of evaluation procedures and problems will be made as a part of the "State of the Art Summary and Critique of Current Evaluation Procedures" (Task B.4). This section, therefore will concentrate only on the first national-level evaluation study of the ESEA Title I Migrant program, as conducted by Exotech Systems, Inc. A review of this study was specified in the Request for Proposal as part of Task 3, the literature review.

The Exotech report (1974) consists of four volumes. Volume I is the Executive Summary presenting the major findings and recommendations. Volume II is a report of the data collection procedures that occurred in 1972-73, and specific results related to the: (1) Impact of the Migrant Education Program on Migrant Students, (2) Services Provided to Migrant Students, (3) Paraprofessional Program Aides, (4) Home-School Relationships, (5) Advisory Councils, (6) Staff Attitudes, and (7) Parental Attitudes. Volume III consists of descriptions of ten State ESEA Title I Migrant programs and selected information, such as noteworthy State management procedures, the coordination of the migrant programs with other Federal programs, and program issues. Volume IV contains appendices describing noteworthy projects in North Carolina, New Jersey, New York, Michigan, Ohio, Colorado, California, and Washington. Other appendices in the fourth volume present data on the number of full-time students involved in Migrant programs in ten States and pre- and post-test results from the 1971-72 Annual Report of the Texas Child Migrant Program.

It should be noted that the Exotech Study operated under a severe time restriction, only twelve months were allocated for both conducting the study and writing the final report. This time factor, and other restrictions, resulted in a limited sample and prevented collection of achievement data from individual project sites.

#### A. Impact Analysis (Volume II)

The major activities in this study are described in Volume II. Ten states were selected that, among them, had received approximately 70% of Title I Migrant funds. For the study these States were: California, Florida, Texas, Colorado, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, and Washington. A stratified random sample of LEAs was selected from these States with an additional judgmental sample of 28 LEAs chosen as noteworthy projects. These latter projects, however, are described in Volume IV rather than in Volume II.

In the original design for the study, three schools from each of 72 LEAs were to be included. However, since some of the LEAs operated fewer than three schools with ESEA Title I Migrant funds, only 162 schools were included in the sample. Project directors, principals, teachers, aides, students, advisory council members, and parents were interviewed in each of these schools.

The basic data in this study consisted of survey information about migrant projects gathered from interviews conducted with the individuals listed above. A total of fifteen areas were covered by these interviews; some examples of the areas were: (1) program management, (2) project implementation, (3) fiscal information, (4) training, (5) community involvement, (6) evaluation, and (7) student attitudes. The data were compiled by giving the percentage of individuals who responded within each questionnaire category. These results were reported by each State, and by base and receiving States.

Although the study did not collect achievement test data from migrant children, the results of some statewide evaluations were discussed. Conclusions about these evaluations should be questioned since they were based on grade equivalent test scores. The recent work by Horst, et al. (1975), indicates that grade equivalent scores may be an invalid measure of achievement. Some interesting data, however, are presented that indicate that the children included in this study fell increasingly behind as they stayed in school. Thus, the grade levels of these children were increasingly discrepant with the grade levels expected for successive ages.

Questions relating to attendance, staying in school, students' self-image, and student perceptions of what others feel about them were discussed. Unfortunately the types of questions used were ones likely to elicit socially desirable responses rather than valid information.

The Exotech Study, in its discussion of services provided to migrant students, indicated that few States conducted adequate needs assessments of migrant children. This finding is congruent with RTI's examination of needs assessment procedures as reported in the annual State evaluations for this review. The Exotech report also indicated, from the data collected, that there was no agreement of what procedures should be used for conducting needs assessments. This study recommended that more uniform procedures should be used by the SEAs and LEAs, and that the base States should be primarily responsible for conducting these assessments.

In addition to needs assessments, the report discussed the project directors' responses to questions about various program components, such as vocational training, preschool services, health services, and transportation services. These questions were generally of the following types: Do you have these services? Do you have special teachers for certain services? What are the specific activities associated with these services? The results of asking these questions were summarized by States.

Another important topic covered in this volume was the interview responses of teacher aides. These topical areas were dealt with: recruitment, characteristics of aides, work experience, duties, training, and career development. Some of the interesting findings here are: (1) most of the aides (80%) were residents of the local community, though not necessarily

migrants; (2) most (87%) spoke the native language of the children; and (3) the most common assignment for aides was assisting the teacher in instruction. In regard to inservice training, approximately 85% of the aides said their training was adequate. This result is in marked contrast to the NCEMC (1972) survey of teacher aides, since the results of this investigation indicated that many aides were confused by the training they received.

In regard to "Home-School Relationships," the following information was obtained:

Only 50% of the project directors in base States and 56% in the receiving States said they use information on the MSRTS to learn about children's families. However, the text does not indicate what type of information included on the MSRTS is related to family background, etc. Most project directors said their staff visited the migrant children's homes, held informal conferences with parents, and reviewed MSRTS records. But the information provided by the parents suggests these activities are not as frequent as one might expect. Thus, only 45% of the parents in the base States and 29% in the receiving States indicated they discussed their children's needs with the teachers. An even smaller percentage of "yes" responses occurred when students were asked, "Does your teacher ever talk to your parents?" (37% in the base States and 22% in the receiving States).

The final section on "Home-School Relationships" covered the types of activities parents were involved in. The most interesting finding was the discrepancy between project directors' and teachers' responses to the question, "Do parents participate in advisory committees?" It was found that a larger percentage of project directors than teachers answered "yes" to this question.

Issues such as the number of individuals on advisory councils and the manner in which they are selected were also examined. An interesting finding was that more than half of the council members were appointed by the project directors, rather than being elected by various community members. Only 29% of these members received training related to their functions on the councils, and few parent members of these councils provided input about important program areas, evaluation, and selection of curriculum materials.

The final set of questions concentrated on staff and parent attitudes. Some examples of questions addressed to staff members were:

- (1) "Does the Title I program help meet the needs of the migrant children?" (VII-2) Almost 100% of the principals answered "yes".
- (2) "What changes have you noticed in migrant children during the program year?" (VII-6) Most responses by teachers were in regard to academic and social changes. Few said that no changes occurred.

A set of informative questions about the Title I program was addressed to parents. Some of the findings were: (1) many parents (46% in the base States and 31% in the receiving States) said they were not told about the existence of the Title I Migrant program in their children's schools; and (2) only 45% of the parents in the base States and 29% in the receiving States discussed their children's needs with the teachers.

#### B. State Assessment (Volume III)

This Volume is mainly concerned with examining the management functions of the ten SEAs included in the study. These functions are:

1. Identification and recruitment of eligible children
2. Assessment of needs of migrant children for special educational and supportive services
3. Project design to meet the special needs of participating children
4. Allocation and delivery of funds to appropriate service areas
5. Project implementation and monitoring
6. Evaluation of project effectiveness
7. Revision of project and formulation of future plans which reflect projected changes in the size, composition, and mobility of the target population.

(Exotech Study, Volume III, 1974, Chapter IX-1-2)



The first section presents detailed lists of recommended program standards (for Federal, State, and local levels) related to each one of the above management functions; it is based upon information obtained from interviews with individuals in USOE, the SEAs, and LEAS. These standards were used to determine the quality of SEA management practices. The use of standards is similar to the evaluation practices developed by Provus (1969) and Stufflebeam (1969), and their application in this study is a reasonable method for evaluating SEA practices. The results of applying these standards to the SEAs were not summarized in one specific section of this volume, but were scattered throughout. The sections describing SEA practices did not clearly indicate which program standards were fulfilled and which ones were not met. The reader has to assemble this information from the text. A careful reading of these reports, however, reveals useful and detailed information about SEA operations.

The remaining topics in this volume concentrated on Noteworthy State Management Practices, Coordination and Community Involvement, Staff Development, Assessment of the MSRTS, and Program Issues. Each one of these topics includes informative descriptions of various types of activities in migrant programs. For example, information on Staff Development reported the interview responses of project directors and teachers as related to the frequency and type of inservice training. Again, there appeared to be many "socially desirable responses" to questions such as, "Was the pre-service training adequate?" (86% of the project directors said "yes", XIII-22). In regard to inservice training, the responses of teachers are more informative, i.e., only 54% of the teachers said they received inservice training related specifically to teaching migrant children (XIII-27). Other questions related to inservice training covered areas such as the frequency, type, location, and length of this service.

Responses to the various interview questions asked about the MSRTS are discussed in Chapter V.

The final section in this volume discussed program issues, such as the need for various governmental and nongovernmental agencies to establish a uniform definition of the migrant population. Problems involved in determining the number of migrant students within a State and in allocating funds to

the States were also discussed. However, since frequency counts from the MSRTS, instead of Department of Labor statistics, are now used to estimate the number of migrant children within each State, many of the problems discussed here no longer occur in the ESEA Title I Migrant program.

#### C. Appendices (Volume IV)

The final volume in this report described ten noteworthy projects. The criteria for selecting these projects are not presented and a summary of the characteristics of noteworthy projects is not given. A summary of the "components of success", similar to the summary presented by Hawkrige et al. (1968) for urban-based compensatory education programs, would have been a useful product of this study.

#### D. Conclusions

Although this study provided some interesting information about services for migrant students, the individuals who participate in advisory councils, and parents' knowledge of the program, it appears that the use of primary data sources such as school records and standardized tests might have produced more useful information about the impact of the ESEA Title I Migrant program. However, it was probably impossible to collect such data within the limited time schedule and other implied restrictions imposed on this study.